

**Shapinsay: The Transformation of an Island Society, 1830-1875.**

**Douglas Barker**

University of Edinburgh  
2004

**Declaration.**

Shapinsay: The Transformation of an Island Society, 1830-1875, is a thesis researched and composed by myself. It is an original work and has not been previously submitted with an application for a higher degree of any kind. All quotations are indicated, footnoted and acknowledged.

Signed

Douglas Barker



## Abstract

The Island of Shapinsay, lying close to the county town of Kirkwall, is one of the most fertile and productive areas of Orkney. It was transformed, within the constricts of two generations, from an area of fragmented community (with three distinct administrations) and subsistence agriculture, into a microcosm of Orkney's success as an area of outstanding livestock breeding and, no less, of social stability.

Central to this transformation was the inter-relationship between one resident landowner and his, initially reluctant, tenantry in a period that saw enormous and irreversible changes to the landscape and economy of Orkney. This landowner, David Balfour, bought out his neighbouring proprietors and utilised his inherited wealth, new legislation and the resourcefulness of the local population, to stabilise a community which for centuries had endured the vagaries of absentee landlords and a hostile climate.

The obstacles faced by Balfour and his tenants were not only structural and economic. The stagnation of this rural economy in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars had been jolted by the collapse of its only cash producing proto-industries. This emergency was compounded by a growing lack of tenant confidence and a deterioration in their relationship with authority, whether juring, clerical or proprietorial. The prominent social position assumed by the Secession Church within this farming and fishing community had virtually usurped the authority of the Church of Scotland and relegated its incumbent to a minor, despised figure.

Against a background, therefore, of a fragmented social structure and the Voluntarist ideals of a dissenting (religious) majority of his tenants, David Balfour

attempted to create a cohesive, commercially successful, community. Using the traditional methods of factor control and legal sanction his initial tactics forced his tenants into abandoning their time-honoured practices of run-rig agriculture and coastal fishing. Instead they were required, by lease, to accept land reclamation and improvement, new crop rotations, over-wintered cattle and more modern farm buildings. Allied to the advantages of rank and influence, Balfour was able to outmaneuver initial opposition by splintering the hegemony of the Secession Church by the covert introduction of a third religious denomination, the Evangelical Union. Finally he reverted to less confrontational but more subliminal tactics of persuasion by encouraging competition into every area of activity on Shapinsay and by sponsoring an annual calendar of public events.

David Balfour, however, was not content with commercial success on his own Orcadian estate. His self-conceit craved acceptance for his intellectual efforts and an entry into the intelligentsia of a wider Scottish milieu. To this end he pursued the building of the mock-Gothic Balfour Castle, the translation of foreign texts, correspondence with leading academics and, above all, the promotion of Orkney and his agricultural achievements, as a 'blueprint' for other areas of Scotland.

Finally, there is the success of the people of Shapinsay in avoiding the calamity of eviction and mass emigration, of retaining their traditional *savoir-faire* and in grasping the opportunity offered by paternalistic proprietorship. The future owner-occupier of a 400 acre beef farm was only a generation removed from the end of our period.

## Contents – Volume I

Acknowledgements	vi
List of Tables and Maps	viii
Introduction	1
1. An Introduction to Shapinsay, Orkney	13
2. The ‘surge of energy years’ - Shapinsay under one proprietor	65
3. The ‘squaring’ and signs of unrest	112
4. A Healthy Populace: The Welfare of Shapinsay’s People	145
5. Social Control and a Secular Society	180
6. A ‘quiescent society’ or a pragmatic tenantry on the eve of high agriculture	220
7. Claims of ‘uniqueness’ in a proto-capitalist agro-economy & a ‘blueprint’ for island communities	252
8. Conclusion: The success or failure of ‘Improvement’ or Shapinsay and its implications for neighbouring societies.	287
Bibliography	311

## Volume II

- Appendix A The Population of Shapinsay
- B Annual Birth Rates
- C Annual Marriages
- D Deaths on Shapinsay
- E Farm Buildings & Surviving Antiquities
- F Graphs A-E
- G Valuation Rolls
- H Index of Rentals
- I Location of Tenants
- J Movement of Tenants
- J(a) Movements within Shapinsay
- K Principal Tenant Families
- L Balfour Estate Rental Books
- M Abridged Inventory of Nineteenth Century Books
- N Straw-plaiting Records
- O Specimen of a long-term performance lease
- P Glossary of Weights, Measures & Terminology
- Q Franchised Tenants
- R Remaining Small Holdings
- S Shapinsay after the 'Squaring'
- T Abbreviations

## Acknowledgements

This thesis has been made possible by a number of individuals and organisations. Principal among the latter was the Orkney County Library, Kirkwall and its outstanding research facility under the supervision of Alison Fraser, assisted by Sarah Grieve (and, until June 2003, Philip Astley). Their patience and co-operation was unstinting during my four years of research into the 50,000 letter strong Balfour Family papers. I am also grateful to Robert Leslie, chief librarian and David Mackie, photographic archivist, for their advice and help in the reproduction of the various illustrations presented herein. James Miller, editor and proprietor of the *Orcadian*, graciously provided a private room, coffee and unlimited access to original nineteenth century copies of his newspaper.

I am also deeply indebted to the Zawadski family of Balfour Castle, Shapinsay, for access to the private library of that remarkable house and to the architectural features of the old Balfour estate. The hospitality and advice of James Sinclair of Ha'quoy, Kenneth Meason of Frustigarth, Sheila and Kenneth Garson of Waltness and Jean Wallace of Girnigeo (the island registrar and cordon-bleu cook) has been both invaluable and stimulating.

The guidance of my supervisors at the Department of Scottish History, the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Ewen A. Cameron and Dr. Alexander Murdoch, has been enlightening and completely irreplaceable. Fiona Carmichael and John Glendinning of the University of Edinburgh Language and Humanities Centre guided me through the difficult transition from typewriter to computer, again with almost superhuman patience.

The staff of the National Archive Scotland and the National Map Library, Edinburgh, were at all times courteous and helpful as was the archive of Harrow School, Middlesex. I am also indebted to Martin Rackwitz of Kiel University, Germany for introducing me to the mysteries of the electronic age. He, and all of my (much) younger colleagues at the Department of Scottish History, shared their thoughts and research ideas throughout an extremely enjoyable five years. At the beginning of my research I was advised and supported by Dr. Ramon Fereday and William P.L. Thomson and sustained by Dr. Peter M. Dryburgh.

Finally I am indebted to the perseverance and wisdom of Elizabeth C. Kelsall for her continual support and intellectual prompting and, above all, for enduring my frequent long absences in archive and library. To her I dedicate this work.

## List of Tables and Maps

1. Shapinsay and its environs	15
2. Location of farms within nine ‘pockets’.	20
3. Five-tier social pyramid in Orcadian society	29
4. Population graph for Orkney & Shetland	35
5. Genealogy of the Balfours of Trenaby	68
6. Sketch plan of Balfour Village	93
7. Religious affiliation on Shapinsay	97
8. Comparative populations for Orkney	145
9. 1492 map of Shapinsay	158
10. Rental of Waltnesstoun 1739	165
11. Table of Mortality, 1833-1837	169
12. Front-page advertisement from the <i>Orcadian</i>	182
13. Inside-cover of 1885 edition of <i>Ancient Orkney Melodies</i>	219
14. Front-page from the <i>Orcadian</i> , January 1859	226
15. Table of crop yields for Shapinsay, 1830-1875	238

## Introduction

The central theme of this thesis is the changes brought about in the subsistence economy of one particular Orcadian island, Shapinsay, and its consequences for the development of a successful agro-economy in the County of Orkney. One centrally located island of approximately 7,300 acres has been selected as a microcosm of the transformation of a fragmented economy previously subjected to the vicissitudes of estate and Crown management.

Prior to our period, 1830-1875, well intentioned attempts had been made to introduce co-ordinated agriculture, fishing and proto-industrial enterprises on various Orcadian estates. The Traill estate on North Ronaldsay, the Fea estate on Stronsay, the Balfour estate on Westray and the Sutherland-Graeme and Honyman estates on Mainland Orkney, had all made piecemeal attempts (from the 1780s) to coerce their tenantry into the application of agricultural techniques that had transformed the rural economy of Britain from Norfolk to Caithness.<sup>1</sup> The generic term ‘improved agriculture’ was universally applied to these techniques and had acquired a considerable body of literature and adherents by the opening decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

‘Improved agriculture’ involved not only better strains of cereals, rootcrops, heavier livestock and more modern, efficient, farm implements and machinery. It meant

---

<sup>1</sup> W.P.L.Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 2001) and G.Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemshall 1827-1888*, (East Linton, 1997) are valuable secondary sources on the early attempts at ‘improved agriculture’ on these Orcadian estates.

<sup>2</sup> This literature is extensive, ranging from J.Tull, *An Essay in the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation* (London, 1731), H.Home, *The Gentleman Farmer* (Edinburgh, 1776) to J.Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland* (Edinburgh, 1814). Pioneering work was carried out by Charles Townshend (‘Turnip Townshend’, 1675-1738) and Thomas Coke (1752-1842).



the introduction of a revolution in the working calendar and lives of the tenantry; the draining and enclosure of heavily fertilised, square fields, the use of specially bred horse teams with all metal ploughs and the rotation of cereals, fescues and root crops. The destruction of the age-old system of runrig agriculture, the 'fermtouns' at its centre and the loss of common grazing, were all necessary to facilitate 'improvement'. In their place would come a large number of farms with centrally located buildings, all tenanted and worked by one family unit.<sup>3</sup>

In seeking to achieve this transformation it was also necessary to destroy the very nature of subsistence agriculture and relegate many of its complementary activities, principally that of inshore fishing. Therefore, in relation to other works on the history of Orkney, it is the object of this thesis to explain the disruption of the lives of 160 farming and fishing families (in all comprising a population of approximately 1,000) in the cause of an integrated agro-economy geared to the demands of an industrial economy on mainland Britain. The historiography of Orkney and Scottish rural history, with the notable exceptions of W.P.L.Thomson, A Fenton and G.Schrank, has provided valuable secondary sources of research but does not pay sufficient attention to specific Orcadian problems or to the interrelationships between finance, social control, political influence and cultural affinity. All of the above authors, and Devine, Phillipson and Mitchison, have researched and written comprehensively on aspects of these Orcadian problems but either as an element of wider studies on Scottish 'improvement' or on particular, single,

---

<sup>3</sup> Fermtouns comprised a tenant farm and dependant cottar homes enclosed within a turf wall with their cereal rigs and patches of grazing. Outwith the wall was the common grazing with its pigs, cattle and horses. R.Dodgston, *Land and Society in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 201-4.

problems in developing modern farming methods.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the key objects of this thesis to relate, with particular emphasis of Shapinsay, the interdependence between all the strands of social control, political influence, substantial targeted investment, competitiveness and local cultural cohesiveness that were combined within one community.

Although the central objective of this transformation was the creation of a prosperous, stable, society freed from the vagaries of climate and unsystematic administration, it is also relevant to explain the importance of the ideology of self-improvement and the ethos of competition when applied to an isolated community, hitherto wedded to subsistence and the strictures of Voluntarism. The latter was a cohesive force in many Orcadian communities and the dilution of its influence on Shapinsay played an important role in the establishment of a tenantry more amenable to the new capitalistic agricultural economy. The role of estate factor is also important in this context. The estates mentioned in the second paragraph of this Introduction were administered, for lengthy periods, on behalf of absentee landlords by factors whose general remit was the extraction of the maximum profit for the minimum investment. In the case of Shapinsay and the Trenabie Estate (on Sanday, Westray, Stronsay and Mainland Orkney) the factor, Marcus Calder, operated under the direct control of one resident landowner, David Balfour. Although Calder was granted a great degree of day to day independence, a strict budget had been set against the completion of Balfour's

---

<sup>4</sup> W.P.L.Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters: Crisis and Conflict on an Orkney Estate* (Edinburgh, 2000), A.Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland* (East Linton, 1997) and G.Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall 1827-1888*. T.M.Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy 1660-1815* (Edinburgh,

‘improved’ fields and farms. The ‘carrot and stick’ of longer leases against the threat of eviction, was always possible but rarely applied. Key ‘improving’ personnel, like Calder and Frisken (the griever on Balfour’s Home Farm), were expected to be long-term residents and farmers of their own leased holdings, therefore, integrating them into the existing tenantry.

Essential to this capitalist farming was the establishment of a viable transport infrastructure, both internally within Orkney, and without, to the Scottish mainland and beyond. While the complete transformation of the topography, architecture and field layout of the island of Shapinsay was not exclusive to this one area it was only in this location that a complete, model, community was planned as a prime example of the virtues of ‘improved’ farming. In detailing these changes the chronological structure of Chapter One has been followed by six thematic Chapters, Two to Seven, and concluded by Chapter Eight.

Shapinsay was, however, at the heart of a large 26,000acre estate administered by a paternalistic ideologue who intended to prove the worth of scientific commercial farming by promoting his ‘unique’ island to other areas of North and Western Scotland as the ideal of social harmony and continuing prosperity. To this end David Balfour corresponded throughout the stewardship of his multi-island estate (essentially from 1844) with government agencies and private individuals. These letters range from the correspondence with the Post Office in London to the Department of Agriculture and continued on to include the Lord Advocate’s office in Edinburgh, the Home Office and

---

1999) and N.T.Phillipson and R.Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh, 1996), mention Orkney but are concerned with agricultural reform in Scotland as a whole.

the Houses of Parliament. Private individuals included the Earl of Zetland, Charles Buchanan of Inveraray and J.B.Burke, author of *Landed Gentry*.<sup>5</sup> This rich vein of primary source material forms the centre-piece of my research from the archives of the Orkney County Library. David Balfour reveals, through this voluminous correspondence (approximately 50,000 items) a deep appreciation of the theories and application of 'improved' agriculture and of the necessity of retaining and preserving the durability and adaptability of a multi-skilled populace.<sup>6</sup> Although the majority of these letters are addressed to family members on all manner of personal concerns, there are a considerable number that can be conveniently divided into outgoing letters on estate policy and its inter-relationship to local and national politics; replies from addressees; letters to local newspapers; the correspondence of the Commissioners of Supply; letters to tenants in Shapinsay and elsewhere in Orkney; legal missives to Balfour's solicitors in Edinburgh (Smith & Kinnear, later Balfour Manson W.S.) and his local solicitor in Kirkwall, and no less important, letters to Balfour and his wife Eleanor from Marcus Calder detailing the progress of estate development. The Balfour Papers also contain a valuable collection of rent books, surveyors reports, estate maps and compt records.

As a virulent opponent of mass emigration and an exponent of a permanent, resident proprietorship, he promoted these ideas through the selfsame correspondence. A typical comment of his was, 'to the remedy of these evils the judicious improvements of Mr. Calder, my factor, have been directed as follows,' and continues, 'before tenants,

---

<sup>5</sup> Orkney County Archive (henceforth O.A.) Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, David Balfour's correspondence books.

<sup>6</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers. Although Balfour's personal correspondence is contained in boxes D2/16/45-6 the remainder is catalogued in Appendix S. His private collection of scientific books is retained in the library of Balfour Castle, Shapinsay.



afforded constant renumeration for every male labourer, at wages from 1/3 to 2/- while the women and children were engaged in other work suited to their strengths at wages from 6d to 10d.’<sup>7</sup> Equally important was his grasp of the need for initial capital investment. The rental of an Orcadian estate could not finance Balfour’s schemes and to this purpose he was uniquely fortunate to receive a large amount of grant money under the 1846 Drainage Act and, eventually, the lion’s share of John Balfour’s ‘Indian’ fortune.<sup>8</sup>

This correspondence is also a guide to the opposition, both fearful and obdurate, mounted by a traditional society, many of whom relied on the perceived moral and organisational strengths of the Secession Church (from May 1847, the United Presbyterian Church), and to the initial resistance of the Crown estates and their more conservative supporters in Orkney. Finally the Balfour Papers illuminate their author’s transition from pupil of the Scottish Enlightenment, through a near Machiavellian ability to disrupt and control his tenantry, to the more benevolent roles of paterfamilias, antiquarian and folklorist.

The primary source material of the Balfour Papers also reveals a strain of empathy for the ordinary Orcadian and an appreciation of his or her pragmatism in a time of mass emigration and social instability. In a letter to a relative Balfour supports his tenants thus, ‘for all your objections to farmers I for one rejoice that their prospects are improving...the superfluous cash wasted in the kelp days should have been spent on

---

<sup>7</sup> O.A., Balfour papers, D2/16/45, letter of 8 February 1848 to Dr. Omond.

<sup>8</sup> Public Money Drainage Act (Scotland), AP, Act 21, Victoria, 1846. John Balfour (1750-1842) was David Balfour’s great-uncle and as one of the creditors of the Rajah of Tanjore he is estimated to have collected £60,000 from his claims before returning to become MP for Orkney and Shetland in 1790. He died in 1842, too late to transform the finances of William Balfour.

their lands’<sup>9</sup> The depth of this correspondence also allows the researcher to chart a progressive shift in proprietorial attitude from early mistrust to mature appreciation and respect. Almost a decade later Balfour was to write on the death of David Craigie, one of his tenants, ‘Poor Davie Craigie, dying of consumption, steadfast, intelligent, a good farmer and a credit to his family who will prosper from his example’.<sup>10</sup> The paucity of primary source material from Shapinsay’s tenantry, especially relating to the period of the complete enclosure and draining of the island, stands out against the volume of correspondence from Balfour and Calder and leads, naturally, to conjecture over their true reaction to these irreversible changes. Secondary sources and word-of-mouth testament (necessarily from great-grand children) have been informative but, again, sparse in providing a revealing guide to contemporary tenant opinion.<sup>11</sup> There is also a disappointing lack of comment in the kirk-session minutebooks of the United Presbyterian Church (there is, unsurprisingly, little in the Church of Scotland minutebooks while those of the Congregational Church have not survived).<sup>12</sup> While the core of this thesis is devoted to the complete transformation of a subsistence culture and the eventual success of Balfour and Calder’s enterprises at the expense of a vulnerable populace, it is noteworthy that only five of the disputants in the ‘Promiscuous Dancing Affair’ were refused new tenancies and had their existing one-year leases terminated. Their ‘crime’ had been an adherence to Calvinistic diktats and not an opposition to

---

<sup>9</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 24 May 1852 to James Balfour.

<sup>10</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45 and D2/16/46, letters of 8 March 1852 and 13 February 1862.

<sup>11</sup> W.P.L.Thomson, *The New History of Orkney* (Edinburgh, 2001), pp. 401-3. Word-of-mouth testaments were obtained by Douglas Barker on a number of visits to relatives of lease-holders (in the Balfour period, 1846-1887) during September 1997.

<sup>12</sup> N.A.S., CH3/1099, Minutes of the Anti-Burgher Church (later the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland).

agricultural change.<sup>13</sup> All of the tenants on Shapinsay were issued with notices of eviction through Kirkwall Sheriff Court from the initiation of the ‘squaring’ (drainage and enclosure) in 1847 to the completion of the first phase of ‘improvement’ in 1852. All of these tenants were offered, and accepted, new leases on rebuilt, restructured, farms on Shapinsay.<sup>14</sup> It appears that the legal threat of eviction was used, and recognised by the tenants, as a bargaining ploy by Balfour and Calder.

National Census Reports, the Balfour Estate Valuation and Rental Books and the Shapinsay Parish Registers show a clear stream of pre-improvement tenants moving gradually into bigger, better built, modern farms and the retention of a large young adult population.<sup>15</sup> Even allowing for the growing attractions of free land and assisted passages to Australasia and Canada, few of Shapinsay’s young and (progressively) more prosperous families responded to the weekly advertisements in the *Orcadian* newspaper.<sup>16</sup> The success of Shapinsay’s transformation is in the stability of its community and the progression of its tenantry to owner-occupancy within two generations of Balfour’s reorganisations. Without source material it is only possible to surmise the initial unpopularity of Balfour’s actions by a population who had resolutely faced, and survived, absentee landlordism, Crown Estate indifference and the failure of potentially profitable proto-industries (kelp, flax and white fishing) and occasional

---

<sup>13</sup> Shapinsay Folk Studies Project, *The Eviction of the Shapinsay Elders from their Homes 1847* (Kirkwall, 1984). David Balfour evicted five elders of the U.P. Church for their opposition to ‘promiscuous dancing’ (men with women) at the October 1846 Harvest Home celebration, held in Balfour’s home.

<sup>14</sup> O.A., Kirkwall Sheriff Court Records, SC11/5, processes 8-71.

<sup>15</sup> The National Census, Orkney, Sheets 28-9, Shapinsay, are reproduced as Appendix A. Appendices G-J are compiled from The Balfour Rental & Valuation Book, O.A., V122. The Shapinsay Parish Records held at Girmigeo Farm, Shapinsay are reproduced in Appendices B, C and D.

<sup>16</sup> The *Orcadian*, founded in November 1854, carried weekly advertisements from the authorities of New Zealand and New South Wales. One such advertisement is reproduced in Chapter Five, fig. 12.

famine. There is no doubting, however, the pragmatism of a population determined to survive and prosper on their native island.

Similarly, the rare correspondence from emigrants (invariably to Australia) although contemporaneous to these changes, does not provide any illustration of the post-disruptive period of my research.<sup>17</sup> It is, therefore, extremely difficult to gain a balanced view of the whole period from these sources. Finally, in this context, the public petitions and testaments from 'grateful' tenants displays an element of stability and acceptance by the petitioners even although it can hardly be a true reflection of the whole population of Shapinsay.<sup>18</sup> Prior to David Balfour's stewardship there had been no acknowledgement, public or private, of the relationship between laird and tenantry with the exception of the rejection of the moderate incumbents of the Church of Scotland, surely an indirect method of attacking the early nineteenth century *status quo*.<sup>19</sup>

The chronological nature of Chapter One traces the pre-history of our period up to and including the demise of Shapinsay's proto-industries and the sale of those acres not already in the hands of the Balfours of Trenaby. It introduces the nature of subsistence farming and fishing and defines tenant, landlord and clerical attitudes to pre-

---

<sup>17</sup> W. Irvine, *The Isle of Shapinsay* (Kirkwall, 1977). Irvine relates that a grandson of an evicted elder had called at Balfour Castle to thank the laird for 'setting his family on the road to prosperity'. 'Post-disruptive' refers to the period, 1852-1865, when the majority of the reconstruction and draining of the island of Shapinsay had been completed and the, approximately, 150 new farms were being 'bedded-in' by the tenant families. The 'gratitude' of Balfour's tenants is not to be taken at face value and is intended, in the light of contradictory correspondence, as an ironic statement.

<sup>18</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7-8. These boxes include petitions for the installation of gas lighting, the removal of suckens (grain milled at the laird's mill as a condition of early leases) and a commemorative gathering in the laird's honour.

<sup>19</sup> O.A., OCR/3/6, Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles. Through a 30-year period (1815-45) the presbytery records the 'offensive behaviour of the parishioners of Shapinsay to Rev. Barry, their minister.



enclosure and the malaise of a static economy. Chapter Two brings into focus the ideology of the new landlord, his overall plan for the island and the remainder of his estate and the opposition, both from dissident clergy and congregation and stubborn tenant resistance. This Chapter is also essential to the understanding of the 'new' agriculture and the time-scale it imposed on landlord and tenant.

Chapter Three quantifies the first effects of the 'squaring' of the whole island of Shapinsay accompanied by the progress of its inhabitants and their reaction to irreversible change. The movement of tenants to reclaimed areas and the impotence of a dissenting church (the United Presbyterians) in a fractious engagement with landlord and factor are central to the future behaviour of both proprietor and tenant.

Chapter Four is concentrated on the populace and their welfare before, during and after the initial period of upheaval. It relates their general health and fecundity, the development of Shapinsay's agriculture, the decline of its in-shore fishing industry and the former proto-industries and (against outside prophesy) its success in retaining the core of its young, healthy, population.

Chapter Five pursues the theme of social control and the gradual secularisation of a population that has stabilised at approximately 1,000. The overt and covert attempts of a paternalistic proprietor to advance the prosperity of his tenantry (and the profit of his estate) while maintaining his own social and intellectual distinction is analysed against the growing awareness of developments elsewhere in the buoyant British economy. Questions of isolation and exclusivity are contrasted against the (local) economic need for improved transport infrastructures. The founding of a Voluntary Artillery Corps, unthinkable in the earlier years of dissident religious opposition, points

to the assimilation of a broad spectrum of the tenantry into the patriotic mindset of British public opinion while adroitly avoiding the pitfalls of military service abroad. There were advantages for both landowner and tenant in this arrangement. The landowner gained extra rank (colonel) and prestige in addition to the retention of all the young, able-bodied, men for all-year round farming duties. The male tenants were absolved from recruitment in the British armed forces while still being on duty to protect the Realm against the potential of American privateers. The competitive nature of the many shooting and drilling practice sessions, and the camaraderie of the corps, was also a positive feature for both parties.

Chapter Six questions the tenantry's reaction to contemporary radical opinion and their quiescent tendencies. The apparent complaisancy of earlier years has been replaced by a 'grudging respect' and a wary pragmatism. The gradual enfranchisement of tenant farmers is contrasted with those in other societies and the failure of a radical agenda to influence local politics.

Chapter Seven traces David Balfour's claims of 'uniqueness' for his island estate and his proposed 'blueprint' for other northern communities in Scotland. The apparent contradictions between his claims for a prosperous Orkney and its lessons for 'backward' (his word for Hebridean and West Highland estates) societies are discussed with the benefit of his correspondence to and from these areas. The success of 'high farming' in this period is also contrasted with government efforts to energize rural Scottish industries while admitting to the inherent difficulties of distance and terrain.

Chapter Eight draws the conclusions to the success or failure of 'improvement', its implications for neighbouring societies and the long-term effects of these measures in

relation to the people of Shapinsay and Orkney. There are undoubted successes in the avoidance of famine, the improving health and longevity of the population, the advance of animal husbandry and its related export success and the avoidance of the calamity of emigration. The threshold of owner-occupancy and the future of live-stock farming threatened by the looming agricultural giants of the New World was not yet fully apparent by 1875 and the complacency of the later Balfour years are contrasted with the energy and determination of 1847.

Finally the grander intellectual and social ambitions of a 'son of the Scottish Enlightenment' are assessed against the reactions of his contemporaries and measured, again, against the no-less ambitious but more realistically grounded transformation of his native island. The stature of Shapinsay as a prime producer of quality livestock is as strong in 2004 as in the days of 'high farming'. The model, ten-acre, square fields are practically unchanged since their creation in the mid nineteenth century, supporting a much smaller population (320) with a backbone provided by the descendants of the 'grudging' tenantry of one hundred and sixty years ago.

## Chapter One

### **An Introduction to Shapinsay, Orkney.**

In introducing the physical, social and historical characteristics of the island of Shapinsay, it is necessary to establish it as a microcosm typical of the rapid and total transformation which occurred in the Orkney Islands during the time-span of two generations in the period 1830-1875. This chapter will, therefore, introduce material which is developed and integrated into the following seven chapters. A chronological approach is, initially, unavoidable in relating the pre-1830 history of Orkney to these seven thematic chapters. The demise of udal occupancy, the latter stages of subsistence agriculture and fishing, the failure of proto-industry and the broad social structure of the islands, are all given a comprehensive review.<sup>1</sup> Placed in the context of the agricultural and commercial development of Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, the transformation of Shapinsay, and Orkney, occurred several generations later than the 'revolutions' (both agricultural and industrial) of its southern neighbours in Caithness, Aberdeen and Angus.

To this end the years preceding, and following, 1830 are crucial in understanding the problems which David Balfour, the 5<sup>th</sup> Laird of Trenaby, faced when he embarked on the transformation of his landed estate. Whether social, religious or economic, they bear a correlation to the future laird's intentions and

---

<sup>1</sup> Udal holdings were freehold and survived in a modified form of the hereditary farms, and land, granted to relatives or supporters of the original Viking migrants of the late ninth century. No rent was paid on these farms, the only payment made was a tax (skat) paid in silver to the Norse Crown. The graduality of land sales throughout the period which followed the impignoration (mortgaging) of Orkney to the Scottish Crown (post 1472), had left approximately 200-300 udallers by the early nineteenth century. While the term 'proto-industry' is usually used to describe an enterprise in the

sentiments regarding his sprawling inheritance. Further still, the experiences of the Balfour family, and the inhabitants of Orkney's Northern Isles, in centuries previous to our period formed the inspiration and the future backdrop to many of his enterprises. No less important was the morale of the small tenants and cottars whose co-operation would ultimately decide the success or failure of Balfour's ambitious schemes.

### **The location and physical characteristics of Shapinsay.**

The island of Shapinsay lies one mile north of the Mainland of Orkney (the largest of an archipelago of sixty-four islands and literally 'the main island'), across the String from the point of Car Ness. The most southern of the Northern Isles of Orkney, its harbour of Balfour lies four sea-miles from the port and County town of Kirkwall at 59.2 latitude (approximately the same as for Stavanger in Norway). It shares a low-lying profile with its eastern neighbour, Stronsay, and bears the unmistakable characteristics of intensive farming (fig.1). The islands in Shapinsay's immediate northern and western vicinity (Gairsay, Eday and Rousay), however, do not display these features, being largely peat encrusted and hilly. The total land area of Shapinsay, including the tidal island of Helliær Holm, is 7,298.363 acres with a length of seven miles measured from Stromberry at its south-western tip to the Ness of Ork in the north-east. The narrowest diameter is two miles, measured from the Odin Stane on the sands of Veantrow Bay to the remains of the iron-age broch on the Shapinsay Sound.

---

first throes of development, it is also used in this text to describe traditional occupations, such as fishing, that have not (locally) been given a viable infrastructure or developed any new technology.



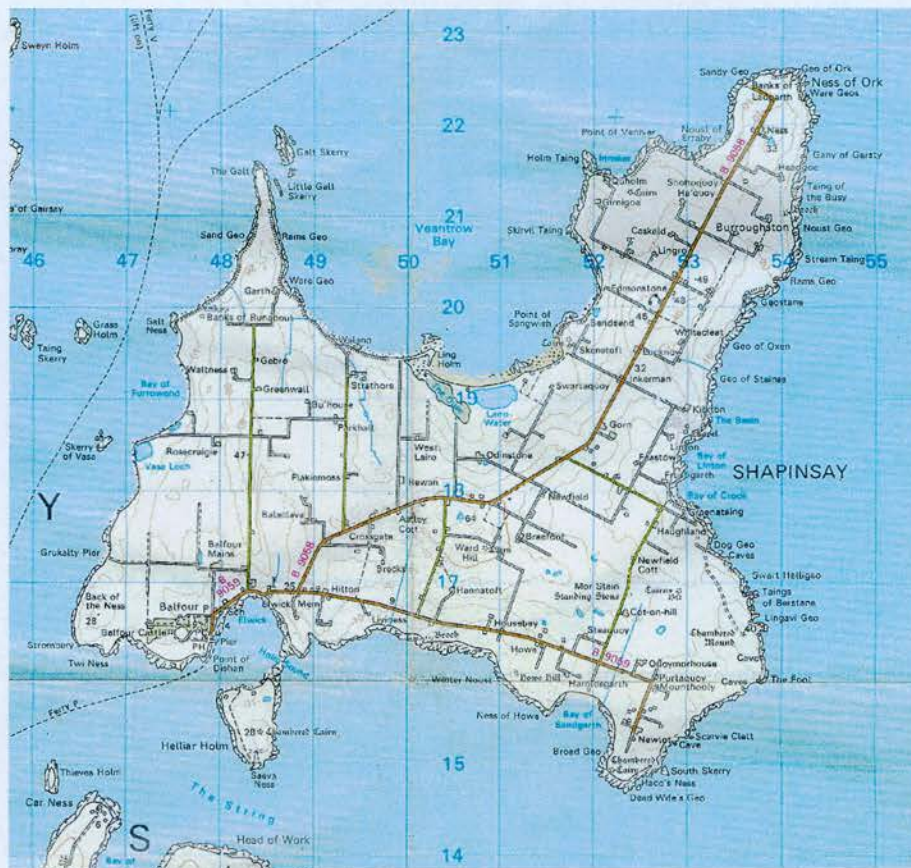


Fig. 1 Shapinsay and its environs. O.S., Sheet 6, 1974.

A total of 6,300 acres are laid out in square, ditched fields in a grid formation interlaced with arterial roads. The only vestiges of Shapinsay's old, pre-agricultural revolution, landscape lies in its south-eastern corner. This area of rough grazing and peat-bog ends at the impressive cliffs and sea-caves of the Holm of Berstane and displays the tell-tale marks of centuries of peat extraction and turf stripping. Shapinsay has an undulating topography dominated by a ridge of higher ground (never in excess of 210 feet above sea level) which supports the central spinal road and affords panoramic views of every aspect of the island and its surrounding firths and skerries. There is no evidence of the wild, creeping willow (*felix argentia*) so

prevalent on the island during Patrick Neill's visit in July 1804.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, apart from the protected plantation surrounding Balfour Castle, Shapinsay is treeless and open to the salt-laden gales that are a feature of life on Orkney.

Geologically, Shapinsay has an old Red Sandstone base with deep overlying glacial clay and an admix of blown shell-sand with frequent strands of peat. The area round Twi Ness, in the south-western corner, has deposits of unexploited lead and small deposits of limestone (unsuitable for agricultural use) occur throughout the island. The sandstone flags are easily split and small quarries are too numerous to name, simply existing when and where large quantities of building stone was required throughout 5,500 years of human occupation.<sup>3</sup> The location of fresh water is evenly distributed throughout the island aided by the porous nature of the underlying sandstone, although no large areas of open fresh water are present with the exception of the twenty acre Leira Water lying close to Veantrow Bay.

### **Estate policy in the eighteenth century.**

In 1782 Thomas Balfour, second son of William, 2<sup>nd</sup> Laird of Trenaby (1719-86), purchased the 1,000 acre Sound Estate in the south-west corner of Shapinsay for the modest sum of £1,250 and renamed its old house Cliffdale. Thomas Balfour had, however, a number of distinct advantages over contemporaries in Orkney. Two years

---

<sup>2</sup> P. Neill, *A Tour through some of the Islands of Orkney & Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1806), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> I have identified eight disused quarry sites on Shapinsay in addition to two limestone quarries (without kilns). The cliff tops stretching north and south from the Holm of Berstane show evidence of the extraction of sandstone slabs for the fashioning of mill-stones. The stone used in the massive tomb of Berstane, known locally as 'Castle Bloody', was quarried not more than a quarter of a mile away and was verified by George Petrie and David Balfour in 1854 (Orkney Archive, hereafter O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 29 September 1854 from D. Balfour to J. Ferrer, University of Edinburgh). The oldest standing dwelling house in north-Europe, Knap of Howar, was dated at 3,500 B.C. and was built on the nearby island of Papa Westray from sandstone flags.



before the completion of Cliffdale, in 1783, Orkney had endured yet another poor harvest and landowners were unable to profit from the high grain prices caused by shortages elsewhere in the U.K. In addition, the normally buoyant kelp trade had been adversely effected by the ending of the War of Independence in North America. It was to Balfour's advantage, therefore, that he brought to his new estate both cash and credit unaffected by these difficulties.<sup>4</sup> He was also the sole resident Heritor on Shapinsay with the prospect of extending his land through the Division of the Commonty, to four times its present acreage.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Balfour began his stewardship of Sound in the same vein as he had displayed on Burray, 'with a flourish of calculated generosity towards the smaller tenants', by cancelling any arrears of rent. He was not prepared, however, to permit the laxity and indebtedness of the previous owners and within eight years he had begun the first transformation of Shapinsay.<sup>6</sup>

Although the fashion for farm enclosure and the rotation of 'green' crops was known and understood in Thomas Balfour's day, its implementation was delayed in Orkney by a number of factors both commercial and political.<sup>7</sup> The land held by the Dundas Earls of Zetland, in the name of the Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney, was located throughout the islands and earned its Superior an annual sum of approximately £30,000 in varying rent and duties and included a large share of the

---

<sup>4</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours, 1747-99*, pp. 78-9.

<sup>5</sup> Legislation had existed since the 1660 Act of the Scottish Parliament, 'Anent lands lying Runrig', for the Division of the Commonties of Scotland. The effects of Jacobite uprisings had caused severe disruption to plans for land division and Sound Estate was forfeited by James Fea of Clestrain for his financial support of the rebels. The threat of prosecution for Purprision (the illegal holding or division of Crown land) and the inability to raise sufficient funds, were further disincentives at this time. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/7/1, Compt of the 1764 Rental of the Fea of Clestrain Estate at Sound, Shapinsay.

<sup>6</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours, 1747-99*, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> 'Green' crops i.e. turnip, clover and grasses, were long held to be essential for all year round rearing of fat-stock and its effective overwintering when pasture or hay was unavailable or prohibitively expensive from outside sources.



kelp trade.<sup>8</sup> Hedged against the vagaries of cereal production, Zetland and the large Orkney proprietors saw little advantage in expending their revenues on surveying, draining, liming and enclosing their coastal estates. Although land was cheap the Montgomery Act of 1770 had failed to encourage entailed estates to invest in agricultural improvement (there were a few notable exceptions outside Orkney).<sup>9</sup> A succession of British Governments were reluctant to disturb a system of inheritance which, they insisted, underpinned the electoral and political stability of the state. In addition the creation of larger, consolidated, commercially viable agricultural estates was hampered by the very fragmentation of the proprietorships. Existing legislation for the Division of Commonty in Orkney was therefore held in abeyance pending a combination of intent, investment and perceived necessity. 'But were it possible to raise Green crops in Orkney to feed cattle and sheep during the winter and spring, which is certainly not the case, there is no market or demand for them', is a typical remark of the anti-improvers.<sup>10</sup> In relation to Thomas Balfour these impediments

---

<sup>8</sup> Sir Lawrence Dundas of Kerse (d. 1781) was the proprietor of estates in Sligo, Roscommon, Aske (Yorkshire), Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire before purchasing the tack and lordship of Orkney and Shetland for £66,000 in 1766. He had amassed a fortune as a war contractor in the Seven Years War and was a director of the Bank of Scotland and the Forth & Clyde Navigation Co. In 1775 he leased the Bishopric revenues of Orkney for a 50-year period at an annual sum of £500. He was succeeded by Thomas Dundas of Castle Cary MP (as 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Kerse, elevated to Lord Dundas of Aske in 1794) who died in 1820.

<sup>9</sup> Land prices, depressed by the post-Jacobite uncertainty and cyclical poor harvests in the 1770's and 1780's, had scarcely risen in value in the eighteenth-century. The Register of Sasines -Orkney & Shetland, vol. LXXI (1784) records little advance in land values from that paid for similar property in 1739 (vol. XL). The Montgomery Act (G.III, 1770) sponsored by Sir J.W. Montgomery (1721-1803), Lord Advocate of Scotland, had allowed proprietors of entailed (tailzie) estates to grant leases of up to 31 years with a minimum of one-third of land in enclosure within ten years with dilution to successors down to 75% of all properties. With or without favourable legislation, notable exceptions such as Cockburn of Ormiston (1679-1758), Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755) or Lord Haddington at Tynninghame, had concentrated on the creation of efficient home-farms, the enclosure of all arable and pasture and the encouragement of 'good' tenants on long leases. T.C.Smout, 'The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland 1730-1830' from N.T.Philipson & R.Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 73-102. A detailed appraisal of successful enterprises.

<sup>10</sup> Many proprietors did not see an advantage in the raising of 'green' crops or of rotation systems that were necessary for their cultivation. The Crown Estate and its factors were especially censorious of any developments which would deprive Orkney's proto-industries of seasonal labour and were content with their exploitation of cereal markets based on feu and rent paid principally in kind. The typical

were not an immediate disadvantage. John Balfour, soon to become 3<sup>rd</sup> Laird of Trenaby *in absentium*, held the reins of the family finances with his Indian income, and the majority of the family's 26,000 acres scattered throughout the Northern Isles and Mainland of Orkney. Thomas, therefore, had his brother's financial support and had purchased (in 1784) a small fertile estate on a single island which held some of the best agricultural land in Orkney.

Determined to validate his investment, Thomas Balfour initiated a train of agricultural improvement that was to transform his own small estate and inspire future Balfour, and Orcadian, land management stratagems. Shortly after the completion of Cliffdale House he began the construction of Orkney's first planned village of Shoreside.<sup>11</sup> The 'generosity' of 1782 did not, however, extend to the small holders of Sound who were closest to Cliffdale House. They were 'persuaded' to move into Shoreside village and their land absorbed into Balfour's plantations. The twelve single-story sandstone cottages, stretching in a neat row along the shore to the north of the harbour of Elwick, were intended as a 'workshop' for Sound Estate. The blacksmith, fish curer, tailor, cobbler, sail-maker or general farm servant were housed, rent free, close to their place of work. Thomas Balfour had more use for their productivity on his new 400-acre home farm than as £1 per year cottars or 'oncas' performing a myriad of small tasks or husbanding one cow, a dozen hens and a few rows of oats.<sup>12</sup>

---

quote in the text comes from a 1795 pamphlet by Capt. James Sutherland (later Lord Duffus) Chamberlain to Lord Zetland, 'Answers to the observations of Sir Whittle Sheepshanks and his worthy friend Dr.Colonel Balfour', O.A., D13/6/12, pp. 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> S.Garson, Balfour Village, (Local History Dissertation, Aberdeen University, 1999), p. 7 and T.C.Smout, *The History of the Scottish People*, (London, 1985), pp. 291-301. G. Schrank, *An Orkney Estate* (East Linton, 1995), pp. 72-87. The Sutherland-Graeme Estate at Holm (Mainland) followed Balfour's example by constructing a planned village at St.Mary's Hope. Work began in 1829.

<sup>12</sup> 'Oncas' were literally on-call cottars who rendered services in exchange for a cottage, a limited parcel of land close to their cot and grazing for a cow. Farthingland tenants usually had annual leases



Protests by absentee landowners with adjacent property were countered by silence or by claims that the encroachments were simply an extension of ancient udal rights of access for peat cutting or seaware.<sup>14</sup> Capt. James Sutherland, factor to the Zetland Estate (see note 33 above) and an acknowledged cattle-breeder, headed a complacent administration content to farm their large revenues and deny the future of improved farming. He was well aware of Balfour antipathy towards absentee landlords and, particularly, Crown officials. Dismissing Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster as a verbose meddler, Sutherland held the view that, 'green crops can never thrive or answer any good purpose in Orkney'.<sup>15</sup>

### **The last years of Thomas Balfour's stewardship and career.**

An occupation dear to resident Orcadian Heritors was that of 'merchant laird'. This title is not exactly self-explanatory as it gives the impression that these lairds were engaged as independent merchant adventurers in the wider North Atlantic community. Occasional voyages were indeed undertaken to Norway to exchange potatoes and grain for badly needed timber. Lobsters were caught for the Billingsgate Market in London and the ash of burnt seaweed, kelp, was exported to glass-makers

---

<sup>14</sup> Udal or odal land, see note 12 above, was divisible among heirs (woman received only a half-share) which denied primogeniture. It extended below high water to the lowest uncovered stone at ebb-tide and claims to moveable items on the seashore are still influenced by this convention. Fishing rights (free in Orkney) are another example of udal tenure that survives in Scots Law to the present day. Udal also appears in the term allodial (Norman French for an estate held in absolute ownership without acknowledgement to a Superior). When udal law was first established in Orkney, in the late ninth-century, it served to establish farming families who had survived the rigours of early settlement for three generations.

<sup>15</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours*, pp. 135-8 & 140-142. Capt. Sutherland held his post as Zetland Chamberlain from 1792-9. Thomas Balfour's plea for widespread agricultural reform had been submitted to the legal and political establishment by way of a number of pamphlets circulated to Scottish newspapers. His (Balfour's) account of farming, with all its drawbacks in Orkney, and his limited successes on Shapinsay were printed verbatim by Sir John Sinclair in his submission to the Pitt administration for the founding of a revolutionary, new Ministry of Agriculture in 1793.



in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Liverpool. Every Orkney estate possessed at least one 'big boat' capable of withstanding the open sea and essential for inter-island travel.<sup>16</sup> In the enterprises of Thomas Balfour and, as yet, small rent-roll and an indulgent brother were insufficient to support an expanding estate and household. The cultivation of green crops and the breeding of fat cattle could not be realised in the short term. His first solution was linked to Shoreside village. The small farmer on Shapinsay had always relied on inshore fishing as a supplement to his diet of meal, poultry and mutton. Potatoes had been a relatively recent, and successful, innovation but inshore-fishing had often been disrupted by bad weather and fluctuating shoals (especially of herring). Cuithies, or coalfish, were not a commercial proposition and although cod and ling were seasonally available they could not be caught in large numbers from the islander's small, one-sail, yoles.<sup>17</sup> By encouraging emigrants from neighbouring North Isles communities (often Trenabie estate tenants) Thomas Balfour hoped to benefit from their activities, solely tied to fishing, and to monopolise the Government bounty of £4 for every ton of landed cod. Spring and

---

<sup>16</sup> The term 'merchant laird' is widely used to describe the all round commercial activities of landowners prior to Orkney's late agricultural revolution. Sound Estate ran 20 fishing yoles, 4 brigs and a sloop, used for round island transport and the export of cereals, rabbit skins, mutton and beef. Fishing was seasonal and dependent on local migrations of cod and herring. The term 'big boat' was first used by Patrick Fea of Stove (Sanday) to explain his coastal trade and shipbreaking credentials in *The Diary of Patrick Fea of Stove, Orkney, 1766-96*, ed. W.S. Hewison (East Linton, 1997), pp 31-33. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/5., Estate Account Book 1797. 113 tons of kelp were produced at a profit of £600. The sub-contractors (a full explanation of the whole industry is included in Chapter 2), small farmers such as the Dennisons of Weyland farm, were paid £1/10/- per ton of burned weed. The Balfour lairds could expect anything up to £10 per ton from the glass manufacturers.

<sup>17</sup> The yole, or yawl, used for inshore fishing was a sixteen ft. wooden hulled boat assembled (usually) from pre-cut Norwegian pine and equipped with one fixed sail. Although it could haul a small drift net the size of the boat restricted the number, never more than six, of the fishermen. Line fishing for cod and ling was easier to accommodate but this activity was risky in strong currents and deep water where considerable skill was required by the oarsmen.

Autumn catches of herring could then be transported in his 'big boat' to German or Dutch boats who in turn supplied the needs of Central Europe.<sup>18</sup>

The section of the Old Statistical Account devoted to the island of Shapinsay states that Thomas Balfour had been directly responsible for the rapid population increase through the recruitment of young, fertile, families to Shoreside village and its environs.<sup>19</sup> Existing parochial records do not list sub-tenants or 'oncas' and although it is possible to trace a number of Shapinsay families through two generations back from the first national Census, it is impossible to prove or disprove the O.S.A.'s assertions.<sup>20</sup> At the completion of Shoreside in 1792, Thomas Balfour was showing an annual profit of £220 against his initial investment of £1,250 and his fledgling rotation systems had produced a mixed farm economy on 400 acres of enclosed farmland. The healthy yields of potato, bere and oats were matched by 50% increases in fat-stock weights. Set against these figures is an innate conservatism that maintained a stubborn preference for the ox as beast of burden and subsidiary food supply and the paucity of farm machinery.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas Balfour also pursued a military career, in and outside Orkney, which had obvious financial advantages. Charged with the command of the Orkney Fencibles Brigade, and rising to the rank of colonel, he was able to exploit his

---

<sup>18</sup> M. Gray, *The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 124-7. The marketing of herring had to be completed within a time-scale which was determined by the winter freeze-up of rivers such as the Vistula and Oder, which functioned as a conduit for food-stocks to rural peasant societies.

<sup>19</sup> O.S.A., vol. XIX-Orkney, pp. 280-1.

<sup>20</sup> *National Census of Population*, (1841), Sheet 28-Orkney Islands and Appendix A, the Population of Shapinsay (attached). The register of Births, Deaths, and Marriages for Shapinsay is held by the registrar, Mrs Jean Wallace, Girnigeo Farm. These are incomplete due to the refusal of Dissenting families to register.

<sup>21</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122 -Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger (Appendix L, attached) and D2/5, Sound Estate Inventories. The February 1798 equipment inventory lists four ploughs, six harrows, carts, spades, forks, scythes and harness at a value of £43/3/8. This valuation had increased by barely 100% in the next thirty years. Bere is a primitive strain of short-stemmed

Ligonier connections to command a regiment raised for the war with France. The Orkney Fencibles, however, were disbanded in 1797 and although many at the time attributed this decision to Dissenting influence at Westminster it is more probable that the Pitt administration were more interested in regiments for the defence of the more vulnerable coasts of South-East England which could be recruited locally. Whatever the intent, Thomas Balfour's military career ended in anti-climax with his death from typhus at Bath on the 9<sup>th</sup> August 1799. His eldest son, Edward, survived only a further six weeks to perish in his first action against the French at Schoorl in North Holland. Edward's title of Elwick and Scotsclader now passed to his younger brother William, an 18-year-old midshipman serving in the West Indies. The death of Shapinsay's first 'improver' and the immediate unavailability of his successor (William Balfour was not permitted to return to Orkney until 1801) left the estate in the hands of a succession of factors with little interest in anything but consolidation.<sup>22</sup>

### **The years of stagnation.**

Contemporary events on Shapinsay's neighbouring estates mirrored developments elsewhere in Orkney. The last udallers had been manipulated into feu tenancies by 1760 and Malcolm Laing of Papdale had acquired twenty-three tenanted farms distributed over four, tiny, eastern enclaves.<sup>23</sup> Primarily interested in political and

---

barley which is less vulnerable to 'shaking' and damage in Orkney's salt laden gales. However, bere does not provide such beneficial yields as other, Lowland, varieties.

<sup>22</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours*, pp. 247-8.

<sup>23</sup> Peterkin, *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom & Bishopric of Orkney*, pp. 90-113. O.A., D16/2/11, letter from Samuel Laing to his factor, Peter Copland, discusses the difficulties of rearing cattle and 'keeping them fat in Winter'. Laing also referred to the high price, 24/- per quarter, of straw and the necessity of growing turnips.

academic pursuits Laing had, nevertheless, founded a highly successful fishing station at Whitehall (Stronsay) and introduced Merino sheep to his farm at Stove, Sanday. He, and his successor Samuel, kept a close watch on their disparate properties but eventually lacked the capital to develop a stable, and profitable, agricultural enterprise. However, planking had consolidated much of the old runrig scarred fields and the Laings did encourage their larger tenants to accept seven-year leases while promoting the planting of potatoes and the storage of winter fodder.<sup>24</sup> The complacency of the Bishopric administration on Shapinsay, mentioned above, continued well into the 1830's and was the principal target of the 1818 Shirreff Report which attempted to guide Orkney's landowners into a well-managed agricultural economy responsive to the demands of the burgeoning British markets and away from a reliance on labour intensive proto-industries such as linen or kelp.<sup>25</sup> William Balfour began, like his father, with several obvious advantages over his Shapinsay neighbours to compensate for his lack of experience and years. His father had left him a compact, efficient, 400 acre cereal and stock farm, built a substantial village with good housing for a flourishing fishing community and had command of the best natural harbour in the Northern Isles of Orkney.

The Valuation Rolls and Rent Books of William Balfour's forty-seven year stewardship show, however, little advance in the annual rent rolls and an inclination to retain large numbers of small tenants on annual Martinmas leases. Although the

---

<sup>24</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Rent Book of the Laing Estate, Shapinsay. For a comprehensive explanation of land measurements, weights, implements and all relevant terminology a Glossary (P) is appended at the end of this thesis.

<sup>25</sup> J. Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1814). This is a 'classic' improvers pamphlet complete with advice on husbandry, rotations and twenty-two recommendations for the transformation of a stagnant agricultural economy. It is also a stinging attack on the activities of absentee landlords and is especially critical of Crown/Bishopric policy. A subsection is devoted to proto-industrial development, a topic examined in Chapter 2, and the inadvisability of prolonging the exploitation of kelp to the detriment of agriculture.



total acreage of the Trenabie Estate increased during his lifetime, his uncle John Balfour had effective control as 3<sup>rd</sup> Laird and allowed his nephew limited scope to extend his comfortable but constricted domain. Not a rich man or an innovator, William Balfour was still able to survive the economic crisis which followed the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. A disposable income of £4,000 was sufficient to carry him through the collapse and subsequent demise of Orkney's proto-industries that ruined many a contemporary.<sup>26</sup> His attitude is encapsulated in the following statement given in evidence to the 1843 Royal Commission for the Poor Laws of Scotland. When asked why he did not favour larger farms on his estate he commented; 'My objection to farms being large is that I derive a greater profit from farms being small'.<sup>27</sup> However, while observing that he adopted a policy of 'changing to stay the same', it would be wrong to assume that he did not keep abreast of contemporary events, whether political or commercial, even if they were often unpalatable to his conventional ideals of a paternalistic society. Whether castigating 'lazy kelp-burners' or resigning his Provostship of Kirkwall after the passing of the 1833 Burgh Reform Act, William Balfour rarely changed his actions or opinions. The dry comments of his former clerk on the Kirkwall Town Council signals Balfour's departure, 'not withstanding the circumstances which in the first working of the new System, may have rendered the Provost less agreeable than could have

---

<sup>26</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/8, Valuation Rolls for the Balfour Estate. The 1810 figure of £325/3/9 rose to only £477/18/3 prior to David Balfour's assumption of the title of 5<sup>th</sup> Laird. The Index of Rentals for Shapinsay Farms (Appendix H) traces rentals from 1847 to 1880. O.A., letter to William Balfour from the National Bank of Scotland, 10 July 1837, confirms a cash balance of £191/4/6. The Estate Account Book, D/323, reveals earnings of £636 and £911/5/- for resp., 1835 and 1836 with a dividend of £102 from 3% stock. Top-up sums of £805 and £1,000 were advanced by John Balfour. O.A., D2/23, Balfour Estate Account Book, 1833-40, details private family expenditure including the levels of disposable income.

<sup>27</sup> The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws – Scotland (1844) had followed directly from the Poor Law Enquiry (1843), vol. xxi, item 238.

been wished, if not even a source of annoyance...' Opposed to innovation, or not, his strong conviction in a separate Orcadian identity and the wisdom of allowing the islanders to remain in the place of their birth in an agricultural environment, was evident in his disapproval of proto-industry and its deleterious results.<sup>28</sup>

These 'unworthy occupations' were to emerge in a later Balfour's attitude to the role of a resident Heritor when a 'hands on' approach to farming favoured by Patrick Fea of Stove or William Balfour 2<sup>nd</sup> laird of Trenabie, was rejected by their heirs. Those who earned their keep from fishing, the Hudson's Bay Company, or sailed for coastal traders, were often portrayed as potential clients of the new radical press, susceptible to Painite ideals.<sup>29</sup> As late as 1837 William Balfour complained to his son David that the popularity of fishing was unacceptable, bringing, 'release from the dependence of others'.<sup>30</sup>

While debating the stagnation of Orkney's early nineteenth century economy it is germane at this point to acknowledge the real changes which had percolated through from the gradual consolidation of scattered runrig sheads (fields of

---

<sup>28</sup> 'Changing to stay the same' is a phrase used frequently in Orkney to describe landowners in the pre-improvement period. Its use in Lampedusa's novel *The Leopard*, to describe nascent political advance in Sicily (c. 1867), post-dates the stewardship of William Balfour. However, the first use of this phrase in Orkney is undocumented. The 4<sup>th</sup> Laird of Trenabie gave tacit approval to better farming methods but preferred to adopt a conservative stand in local business and politics. Among his contemporaries it was common practice to introduce leases of five to seven years duration but without any provision for amelioration or stipulations of performance. Similarly the introduction of proto-industries such as kelp or flax (for linen production) were not envisaged as developments which would change the traditional relationship between laird and tenant. The distinction between 'merchant laird' (see note 16 above) and businessman (his son David who developed new markets for his island economy and pressed for new transport and road-building legislation) is assumed in this phrase. 'Lazy kelp-burners' is a quote from O.A., D2/24/2, in a letter to an undisclosed addressee, supported by Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 382. D23/7/10, Minutes of Kirkwall Town Council, 16/1/1836, notes the resignation of William Balfour on 9/1/1836 under section 26 of the Burgh Reform Act (1833).

<sup>29</sup> R.H. Campbell, *Owners and Occupiers: Changes in rural society in South West Scotland before 1914*, (Aberdeen, 1991), pp. 122-125.

<sup>30</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/24/2 letter from Wm. Balfour to D. Balfour, April 1837, on estate management.

approximately forty fathoms). The five-tier social pyramid (fig. 3, below) which had been partially dismantled by Thomas Balfour, and tolerated by his son William, had also been a reflection of the tenants' unwillingness to accept innovation and their tacit approval of minor advances such as planking and perambulation in land allocation. Two generations of virtual rent stagnation had reinforced this attitude and introduced a false sense of security in the tenantry as well as their proprietors. The decennial population increases which had followed the successful inoculation policy against smallpox, improved food distribution and a primitive wage economy from kelp and household spinning, held good from the late eighteenth-century to the second quarter of the nineteenth-century.<sup>31</sup> These increases have been variously explained by contemporary historians as the result of Thomas Balfour's early recruitment for Shoreside Village and the encouragement given to early marriage by the small, but regular, incomes provided by proto-industrial employment in support of a varied diet of cereal and fish foods.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> J.A. Symon, *Scottish Farming*, (Edinburgh, 1959) makes repeated reference to a five-tier farming structure in pre-improvement agriculture. Planking and perambulation came into their own during the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the drawbacks of scattered runrig development was already straining the resources of scarce arable land. A fuller explanation is given in the Glossary of Weights and Measures (Appendix P). Rendal, or rundale, is the generic name for runrig farming and gives its name to an area of the Orkney Mainland where numerous rigs were claimed from moorland. Inoculation against smallpox was pioneered by Lady Poloxfen at her Orphir estate in the 1760's. The population of Orkney rose from 15,000 to 22,700 in this period and from 598 to 744 on Shapinsay.

<sup>32</sup> The influence of a variegated diet on the health and fertility of this population, and its inter-relation with disease, is discussed in Chapter 4.

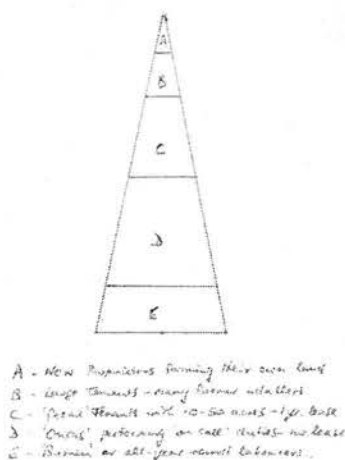


Fig. 3 Five-tier Social Pyramid in Orcadian Society

These limited successes, however, masked a real and unaddressed problem. The population of Shapinsay in 1831 was 809, distributed over a total area of little more than 2,000 acres, with 155 family units (excluding the 400-acre farm at Sound).<sup>33</sup> Pressure on existing agricultural land could no longer be eased by subdivision and perambulation and the absence of large numbers of the adult population. The time consuming activities of seaweed-cutting and coastal fishing (cod and ling in April and early May, herring in late July and early August) narrowed the period when the majority of Shapinsay's subsistence farmers could faugh (plough in seaweed fertiliser), sow and eventually harvest their meagre crops.

Thomson, Fenton and Fereday are among those who point to the apparent stability of the runrig and rendall system of unchanging cultivation, in the same ill-

<sup>33</sup> Barclay, *The Population of Orkney*, p. 9.



drained furrows, and its suitability to the above calendar of activity.<sup>34</sup> In an ideal year the work of maintenance and preparation (whether for fishing gear or farm equipment) would be completed by early Spring. Shapinsay's fleet of four or six man yoles would then fish the early cod and ling in time for the sowing of bere and the repair of the turf walls which protected the crop from the island's free-foraging pigs, native sheep and black cattle. Sandwiched between this period and the early October harvest was the six to eight-week herring season, again pursued close to the coast, which engaged large numbers in the cleaning, salting and storage of the catch. Before the annual compting of Martinmas (11<sup>th</sup> November) came the Harvest Home, the most prestigious social event in the island calendar. Between all these activities time and labour had to be found for the cutting of seaweed, both for agricultural and commercial purposes.

Ideal years, however, are rarely experienced in Orkney and cyclical seasons of atrocious weather could easily undermine the fragile timetable detailed above. Indeed, the last true emergency on Shapinsay, in 1782, had seen equinoctial gales confine the yoles to their nousts in the Spring and delay sowing until late May (through flooding of the rigs).<sup>35</sup> These disasters were followed by a wet Summer and a stormy August and September. That year hardly a fish was caught, little seed was sown and the surviving crop was either destroyed or waterlogged by early hail and snow-storms in October. Even the normally reliable kelp-burning was disrupted by the weather and the flax and straw-plaiting industries were unable to sustain families

---

<sup>34</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, chapter 23, 'Old-style Farming', p. 315. Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 48. Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours*, pp. 92-4. All of the aforementioned acknowledge, however, that the increase of population and decrease in infant mortality was due to other factors (discussed in Chapters 3 & 5) such as migration and proto-industrial development.

<sup>35</sup> M. Flinn (ed.), *Scottish Population History* (Cambridge, 1977), pp 233-237.



with no provender for the forthcoming Winter.<sup>36</sup> The cheapness of Thomas Balfour's purchase of Sound, Shapinsay, is directly related to such losses and he and the other Heritors had no option but to import large quantities of potatoes and meal. Although the next period of catastrophic weather (1832-5) did not cause the same levels of damage or deprivation, the fragility of this subsistence economy is underlined by the following comments of the Church of Scotland minister, the Rev. John Barry, in a letter to the Sheriff-Substitute in Kirkwall:

Crop of oats is about one third part less than the average of seven previous years, bere one fifth less, potato crop is only one half of former years. To supply the destitution, there will be a demand for 180 bolls oat meal and 80 bolls of potatoes. 30 inhabitants could pay at reduced rates, 30 unable to pay anything at all and all the others could pay prime cost for the supplies which will require to be furnished, the meal about the beginning of the month June and potatoes immediately as they are required for seed.<sup>37</sup>

Added to the island's problems on this occasion was the terminal decline in its proto-industries, with only ill-paid straw-plaiting retaining its workforce of more than 110 women. Therefore, at this point it is essential to examine more closely the structure of an island supporting a rapidly expanding population against a background of economic instability and political uncertainty.

---

<sup>36</sup> Appendices B, C & D, Schedules of Birth, Marriage and Death on Shapinsay, 1780-1885. The spectacular bad weather of 1782 and 1783 is reflected in the declining numbers of marriages in this period. It also shows a low birth rate and escalating numbers in infant and aged mortality. There was only one marriage in this period and the low birth-rate of 1783-5 (only fifteen) stands out in contrast to the fifteen in 1786. There were eleven marriages in 1786. The appalling weather of this period is reported in the O.A., D2/29/8.

<sup>37</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours: 1747-1799*, pp. 125-128. The 'buyers market' of 1780's was directly related to the fall of grain and kelp prices after the peace of 1783. On Shapinsay Sound Estate could not face the losses of rent income together with those from flax and fishing. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/1/4. A letter from Wm. Balfour to Thos Moubray, Leith (Shipping Agents) on 15 March 1837 shows the lack of progress. Balfour has ordered '10 bolls of potatoes...for such they are wanted chiefly to supply our poor neighbours where potato crop failed in almost every way last year.' Letter of 6 April 1837 from Rev. Barry to Sheriff-Substitute, Kirkwall, 'respecting the failure of last crop and consequent destitution in the island of Shapinsay.'

### The structure of Shapinsay's economy prior to the 'squaring'.

The existence of nine 'pockets' distributed round Shapinsay's indented coastline has already been mentioned, together with its varying states of administration. Little of the interior of the island (with the exception of the expanded quoyos of Leiradale and Hewan) was under cultivation and was slowly degenerating as a provider of fuel, fertiliser or rough grazing, as a result of centuries of surface extraction of peat and turf. Although painstaking conversion of moorland to quoyland is well documented, its progress was hardly revolutionary and rarely netted more than a handful of rough grass to sustain one or two small cattle and possibly five or six sheep.<sup>38</sup> By 1830 progress in the attempts to enlarge the island's cereal production were at a standstill. Barry's acid comments in his report to Sir John Sinclair which found its way into the Old Statistical Account (and were repeated in *History of the Orkney Islands*) had raised fears of many islanders that, contrary to the improving rhetoric of the OSA, the emulation of Highland estates would see Shapinsay's 3,000-acre Commonly converted to a sheep-walk.<sup>39</sup> In addition, Barry's comments on the character and ambition of many of his parishioners can be seen from this extract:

They are in a high degree indolent; wedded to old customs; averse to every improvement; dark, artful, interested; respectful to their superiors, as much from fear as from love and suspicion; sometimes endeavouring to undermine and slander one another.<sup>40</sup>

There is no record of the islanders' sentiments in respect of the Rev. Barry.

<sup>38</sup> Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland*, Chapters XI and XII.

<sup>39</sup> O.S.A., vol. XIX-Orkney and Shetland. Barry, *History of the Orkney Islands*, pp.47-49 and 341. Barry did not have a high opinion of the cottar and small tenants.

<sup>40</sup> Barry, *History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 338.

Uncertainty and tension had long been apparent between elements in the tenantry, especially when their holdings abutted the Commonty. The repeated complaints of the island's six lawrechtmen of encroachment onto the moors, were ignored by the Heritors. They, in turn, were opportunistic in their assessment that once the division of the Commonty was finally sanctioned by the Court of Session, and ratified by Kirkwall Sheriff Court, it would be a relatively simple matter to remove the few pendicle farmers, divide the land among adjacent Heritors and then decide on its exploitation.<sup>41</sup> Three areas were potentially most vulnerable to eviction and enlargement; the Bishopric area of East Hollandstoun, the Laing property at Sandstoun and the Balfour pendicles on the fringe of the West Hill Common. These areas were the least successful in cereal and livestock rearing and had the largest concentration of kelp-burners and straw-plaiters.<sup>42</sup> A survey of their annual rent and skat shows a decrease of £11/18/10 between the early Napoleonic War period and the latter years of William Balfour's or Samuel Laing's administrations (the rolls of the Bishopric Estate were similarly unproductive in rent income, remaining virtually unchanged).<sup>43</sup> The three areas mentioned above were therefore dependent on too many factors which they, or their landlords, were unable to control. Varying from climatic to economic, these restraints reinforced the complacency that bedevilled

---

<sup>41</sup> Shapinsay's six lawrechtmen (see Appendix P, Glossary of Weights, Measures and Terminology) were William Michael, Magnus Bews, James Shearer, George Bell, James Reid and John Dennison. As adjudicators for the Baillie Court, answerable to the Sheriff in Kirkwall, they appended a report (February 1836) to the 'Memorial for Division of Commonty of Shapinsay' which is a summary of violations of the Commonty in O.A., D34/D/3/2.

<sup>42</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D9/5 (Appendix N), Straw-plaiting Records (1833-38) for Shapinsay. This ledger contains the names and wages of all 121 participants of whom 25% were located in the two areas mentioned in the text.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L). D34/D/3/2, Laing Estate Rent Rolls. The latter years of these administrations coincided with the last, serious, subsistence crisis in Orkney and for the purpose of this thesis, stretch from 1830-46. Between 1805 and 1845 the Balfour and Laing estates on Shapinsay decreased in rental income from £328/12/- and £226/- to £325/7/10 and £217/5/4. The Bishopric estate figures are £1,594/6/10 for 1805 and £1,594/6/1 for 1845.

local enterprise. The huge cash influx from kelp had acted as a disincentive to many involved in the industry. Fenton has calculated that, over a fifty-year period, kelp earned £370,000 for the proprietors of Orkney. The level of reinvestment in the local economy is almost impossible to calculate but the stagnation of the fishing and farming industries was in part due to this shortfall. The regenerative possibilities which were held-up by these profits was not a popular topic on most kelp estates.<sup>44</sup>

Runrig cereal production had been modified, slowly, by the adoption of planking for the available arable land and by the straightening of 240ft rigs into twenty-four to thirty lines within one large 240sq.ft. shead. This had gone some way towards preventing the continual squabbles over location and fertility of individual rigs but had done little to improve drainage, yield or variance of crop. Yields of 1:3 (i.e. the ratio of sown seed to harvested grains) were common throughout the three areas of Shapinsay, mentioned in the previous paragraph. The more productive areas such as Waltnesstoun, Ness or Howe of Kirbuster, rarely achieved better ratios than 1:5.<sup>45</sup> However, neither the introduction of planking, or the concentration of a large number of families in one area (Shoreside Village), can be shown conclusively to have been the chief engine for the accelerating birth and marriage rates of this period. Immediately following William Balfour's succession, in 1799, the population of Shapinsay was 744 and the next decade saw a fall of 2.4% (to 726) before successive increases of 7.3%; 3.85% and 15.57%.<sup>46</sup> Fig. 4 (below) gives a clear picture of these

---

<sup>44</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 61. Fereday, *The Lairds of Eighteenth Century Orkney*, pp. 158-9 and Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 359-360, describe the profligate life-styles and bankruptcies of many 'kelp' lairds.

<sup>45</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/4 and D2/5. These boxes contain detailed lists of the grains sown and harvested from 1792 to 1835.

<sup>46</sup> Register of Birth, Marriage and Death for Shapinsay (Appendices B, C & D). Although these registers lack, prior to 1855, details of occupation they do point to a concentration of former labourers and fishermen at Shoreside Village. Assertions of earlier marriages and larger families is not proven



generational and decennial increases including the only decrease during the latter years of the Napoleonic Wars.

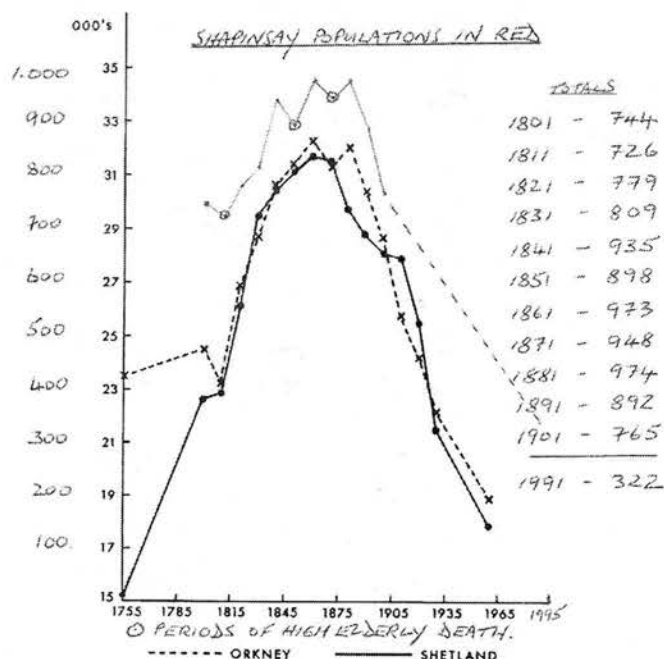


Fig. 4 Population Graph for Orkney & Shetland. After O'Dell 1939.

The contributions of a change in dietary convention (mutton, beef and fish at more regular intervals, supplemented by kitchen garden vegetables), small wage-earning from proto-industries and the inherited benefits of the first generation to be free from the cyclical ravages of famine, are all elements which emerge (in subsequent chapters) as viable explanations for Shapinsay's steep population curve in the second

---

by an examination of the registers. Barclay, *The Population of Orkney, 1755-1961*, C-5846, tabulates the gross figures for inter-island population.



and third quarters of the nineteenth-century.<sup>47</sup> The encouragement given to early marriage by the Dissenting churches must also be evaluated together with the expenditure on rent, feu duty and building materials. The only substantial rent increases occurred at the peak of Thomas Balfour's first enclosures at Sound, Samuel Laing's attempts at primitive rotations in the 1820's and William Balfour's early attempts to profit from his 'many farms being small'. The brief booms in kelp, cod and herring in the immediate post-Napoleonic War period certainly contributed to these rent increases but as indicators of prosperity, and incentive to population increase, they are too variable and speculative.<sup>48</sup>

The economic uncertainties of this period had other effects on the domestic arrangements peculiar to the coastal holdings on Shapinsay. 'Twa-beeld' tenancies (two branches of one family living under one roof and practising different occupations, usually farming and fishing) were still numerous in William Balfour's time and had amounted to one in ten of all the island's habitations.<sup>49</sup> Formerly regarded by the islanders as a form of security against death, crop failure or poor catches, these tenancies were invariably situated in the more isolated areas on the worst drained land. The few rigs which they cultivated for an annual crop of bere or grey oats could not feed such a large family unit when the combined effects of

---

<sup>47</sup> Register of Birth, Marriage and Death for Shapinsay. The major cause of death in this period was tuberculosis. As most deaths were unattended by a doctor, it is impossible to trace the symptoms or case histories of the deceased.

<sup>48</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*. All the principal chapters relating to fishing, kelp, linen and farming have an analytical component which discusses the economic or physical forces which influenced Orkney's proto-industries. The absence of transport infrastructures was a particular bugbear of Shirreff and the improvers. O.A., D16/2/11 is a collection of letters, weekly from February 1828 until 28 October 1828, from Samuel Laing to his factor, Peter Copland, addressed from Edinburgh, Cambridge and Paris, which show the mounting rent arrears at Sandstoun plus the current stocks of peat and kelp. Interestingly he says of Thomas Flett (Howe farm) that he 'pays a high rent' but that it is payable, 'if he can make up a boat for kelp cutting' (the last letter of the series).

<sup>49</sup> Appendix J, Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay.

declining fish stocks and collapsing proto-industries undermined their precarious finances. A new set of initiatives, set in train elsewhere in Orkney, were discussed in the local newspapers but did not find their way into the notes of Shapinsay's two kirk sessions.<sup>50</sup> These initiatives involved the estates of Alexander Sutherland-Graeme at Holm and William Traill-Holland on North Ronaldsay. In 1828 the trustee for the minority of Sutherland-Graeme, John Irving, began the enclosure of the 4,767 acre Commonty of Holm (56% of the total acreage of the parish) by appending small areas to existing farms and forcing the cultivation of the newly enclosed Commonty by issuing new leases at doubled rates.<sup>51</sup> The North Ronaldsay estate employed similar tactics with a more ruthless momentum. Thirty-two families, most of whom were employed in the collection and burning of seaweed, were resettled on the island of Eday or found their way to Shapinsay.<sup>52</sup> Runrig was abolished and the resultant tenancies were too expensive for a peasantry deprived of their kelp incomes.<sup>53</sup> The Traill-Hollands did not build a model village on North Ronaldsay to follow the example of Irving in constructing the village of St.Mary's Hope at the entrance to Scapa Flow. Irving, like the Balfours, wished to retain a pool of labour on the estate.

---

<sup>50</sup> *The Orkney and Shetland Journal* (1836-39); *The Orkney & Zetland Chronical* (1824-6) and *The John o'Groat Journal* (founded 1836) were read, often second-hand, prior to the founding of *The Orcadian* (1854) and *The Orkney Herald* (1860-1960). *The Orkney & Zetland Telegraph* (1778) did not long survive. NAS., CH3/1099, Minutes of the Anti-Burgher Church of Shapinsay and O.A., OCR3/6, Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles of Orkney-Church of Scotland, make no mention of the controversial 'squaring' of Shapinsay.

<sup>51</sup> G. Schrank, *An Orcadian Estate*, (East Linton, 1995). Central to this account is Irving's (1770-1850) attempts to rationalise the estate of a profligate, absentee, landlord and his correspondence with the estate factors, David Petrie (1752-1830) and his son, also David, (1788-1869).

<sup>52</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay. The family of Arthur Russell at Fancy farm (renamed Balaclava in 1858) migrated direct from North Ronaldsay. The Swanney's (at West Laro) and the Thomson's (at Wardhill) came to their new 30-acre farms via the island of Eday.

<sup>53</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 360.

The uncertainty caused by these initiatives did not result in civil unrest, but widespread tenant anxiety had a number of consequences.<sup>54</sup>

### **Tenant uncertainty at perceived changes to Shapinsay's economy.**

On the Holm Estate covert non co-operation continued well into the 1840's with tenants either refusing to cultivate the newly recommended crops, cutting peat or grazing animals on land designated for enclosure and rotation of green crops.<sup>55</sup> The North Ronaldsay migrants carried their grievances to their new parishes and added backbone to the already numerous opponents of the status quo of Heritor and Church of Scotland minister. Their membership of the dissenting United Secession Church on Shapinsay did not present any initial problems for William Balfour or Samuel Laing who concerned themselves with radicalism only when it touched the business of the Kirkwall Town Council or Parliamentary elections.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, Samuel Laing was confident enough to issue a perpetual feu to the Secession Church, in 1830, for a chapel on the edge of the East Hill Common at Brecks. He was undeterred by the Secession Church's abandonment of support for a state church in 1830 and ignored their espousal of Voluntarist principles.<sup>57</sup> His tenants, and those of Shapinsay's other two Heritors, were also concerned that frequent talk of the Division of the Commonly (and by visits to the island by chartered land surveyors) was nearer to becoming a reality and that deprived of their skat-free rough grazing, auxiliary peat

---

<sup>54</sup> Schrank, *An Orcadian Estate*, pp. 41-3.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.

<sup>56</sup> O.A., D2/7/10, Minutes of the Kirkwall Town Council. The minute of 16/1/1836 notes William Balfour's objections to the admission of dissenters to the roll of voters.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, OCR 27/1. Sasine of the feu granted to Alexander Russell on 25/5/1830 by Samuel Laing. Act 13, Victoria, Chap. 30.

fuel and kelp income, they would suffer the same future as the 'peeries' and oncas of Holm and North Ronaldsay. Generations of backbreaking work had often yielded little more than one small field on the edge of the Common and the tacit approval of their landlord might now be replaced by disapproval, eviction and the migrations already experienced on other islands. Unable to survive in areas where the traditional Summer grazing was now under insuperable pressure from human deprivation of its top-soil and turf, and over-grazed by uncontrolled stock, they would not endure in a profit-based agricultural economy geared to annual surpluses.

In addition to the problems of forage (an estimated 300,000 cubic meters of turf and peat had been removed from the Commonty of Shapinsay by each generation of farmers) was the lack of any market for locally produced beef, mutton or pork.<sup>58</sup> Undernourished animals were sold to Caithness cattle-buyers every Autumn, but they had to be fattened on Mainland Scotland. Stock books of the 1830's list the carcass weights of slaughtered animals at weights normally below 300lbs. As the accepted retail price of beef was 2p to 3p per lb it is little wonder that few cattle were reared for other than domestic use. The yield from hides, tallow and offal was equally unremunerative, with only the growing market for hen's eggs providing any optimistic news for the small tenant. In a letter to a merchant in Edinburgh, David Balfour summed up the problem thus, 'Hitherto the only opening for our Cattle has been the sale to Drovers who purchased the small native cattle to

---

<sup>58</sup> S. Foster and C. Smout, 'Studies from the Northern Isles of Scotland' from *The History of Soils & Field Systems* (Edinburgh, 1994). Based on the skimming of moorland outlined in Chapter 4, it can be estimated that approximately 300,000 m<sup>3</sup> were stripped from the Commonty of Shapinsay by each generation of farmers. Shirreff, *General View of the Agricultural of Orkney and Shetland*, tackled soil denudation and mentioned internal markets. However, he formulated no plans for market development.



sell to Graziers.<sup>59</sup> Contemporary tracts on agricultural improvement had, of course, concentrated on these problems before, during and after the publication of the O.S.A. It was obvious to laird and tenant alike that whatever methods might be applied, radical change was inevitable.

Closer examination of the finances of Shapinsay's three estates shows that two of them, Sandstoun and the Bishopric, were unlikely to rectify their shortcomings without a radical overhaul. The conservative attitude and complacent administration of the latter has already been mentioned. The relevant rent rolls partially explain this attitude. Lord Zetland's Bishopric tenants numbered forty-five and paid an annual rent of £1,594/6/3, compared to £217/5/9 paid by Laing's twenty-three tenants and Balfour's £325/7/10 from forty-three tenants (this did not include the residents of Shoreside Village).<sup>60</sup> The Sound estate undoubtedly held the greatest potential for improvement, both in the pedigree of its Heritor and in the level of investment that might be deployed at a future date. Although under-financed in William Balfour's time it had the advantages of a permanent resident proprietor, a profitable agricultural and trading income elsewhere in Orkney, and substantial legal and political influence in Edinburgh and Westminster.<sup>61</sup> The kelp fortunes described by Hossack had not greatly enriched the Trenabie Estate and the 100 tons produced annually on Shapinsay was principally burned by Bishopric tenants. The areas of East Hollandstoun and Veantrow Bay produced the best harvests and accounted for a

<sup>59</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46. Letter of 6 March 1854 from D. Balfour to Thos. Thyne & Son, Edinburgh. D34/D/4/2, 'The Barlas Report', is optimistic about poultry and eggs in particular.

<sup>60</sup> O.A., D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L). D34/D/4/2, Laing Rent Book for Shapinsay & Preamble to the Barlas Report to Her Majesties Commission of Woods, Fields & Rivers, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> O.A., D2/11/19, letter pf 28/4/1827 from Wm. Balfour to Thos. Balfour MP at Westminster, 'At present the idea of our family influence is strong and it is not our business to show it is not.'



share of Zetland's high profits in the boom years of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>62</sup> The Laing Estate was only viable for its Heritor when kelp profits were high. Its small area (approximately 800 acres) and lack of large arable farms was not capable of expansion without the division of the two Hill Commons. In addition its twenty-three tenants struggled to raise the average annual rent of £5 (the three larger farms with seven-year leases paid almost exactly half of the annual rent roll). The accounts of straw-plaiting for this period, plus the payments made to the smaller tenants for 'kelping', graphically illustrate this problem. William Flett, tenant at Houseby, paid an annual rent (no lease) of £6/7/- every Martinmas. His family's income came from four sources. Margaret Flett, the farmer's widowed mother, knitted stockings at an annual wage of 10/-. Ellen, her 15-year-old daughter, plaited straw for 10/6 per annum. The eldest unmarried son, Thomas, fished for cod, ling and herring at an estimated share of catch (four-man yole) of £2/10/- per annum. Finally William, the tenant, had eight acres of bere and maintained a cow and a dozen sheep. He also gathered and burned seaweed for Laing at a contract price of £1/10/- per ton. If he could produce two tons of kelp the annual income for Houseby would be £6/10/6. It is highly unlikely that Flett could have collected more than forty tons of seaweed in one season (twenty tons of wet weed was required for every ton of burned kelp). The balance, therefore, between the annual rent and earnings was entirely at the mercy of the weather. The cereal crop, after deduction of suckens and teind, was never large enough to produce a surplus. Saithe, or cuithies, were used as auxiliary rations and could be caught with a rod and line close to Houseby. The only possible additional

---

<sup>62</sup> B.H.Hossack, *Kirkwall in the Orkneys*, (Kirkwall, 1900), pp. 148-9 and F.D.Foden, 'Seaweed', *The Orkney View* (September 1990), pp. 11-12.

income would be undeclared catches (lobster or crabs) which were difficult to market.

In contrast, the 100-acre Howe farm which was leased by Magnus Craigie for nineteen years at £25/10/- per annum, had a much easier time. Magnus shared the farming duties with his elder brother William and supported a household of ten. Their lease allowed for cash payments of £12 per annum plus 12/- Poor Rate and a remainder in kind. Compt records show that they passed bere, oats and butter to a value of £12/18/- to the Laing Estate. The Craigies did not engage in straw-plaiting, cod and herring fishing or kelp burning.<sup>63</sup> When David Balfour purchased the Laing Estate he was gratified to learn that the above tenants were prompt payers of their annual rents. In fact, the Craigies received a twenty-two year extension to Howe without an initial rent increase.

However arduous the Laing regime may appear for the Flett family, it is important to acknowledge that the twenty-three tenants enjoyed a better working relationship with their Heritor than those of the Bishopric. The latter's forty-five tenants lived in squalid houses which required annual repair to their straw and heather thatched roofs and frequent attention to the mud and wattle cladding which consumed almost a tenth of their annual supply of bere-straw.<sup>64</sup> Much of their land had remained as 'moor' pasture and within the five Bishopric areas there were no farms that held more than 30 acres of arable land.<sup>65</sup>

At the beginning of our period, therefore, Shapinsay's 800 inhabitants were grouped within nine coastal 'pockets' with three distinctive administrations and often

---

<sup>63</sup> O.A., VR111, Valuation Rolls for the County of Orkney; NAS, CR/427, Reports to Her majesties Commission of Woods, Fields and Rivers; O.A., D34/D/4/2, Laing Rent Book for Shapinsay.

<sup>64</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Preamble to the Barlas Report to Her Majesties Commission of Woods, Fields and Rivers, p.1.

<sup>65</sup> NAS, RHP 2891-7.

separated from each other by moorland impassable to wheeled vehicles. The diversity of the working year was both lauded and criticised by their superiors, at once enthusiastic for profits from kelp, cod or shell-fish, but suspicious of any activity which they believed would slacken the reins of social control.<sup>66</sup> The tenantry gave their grudging acceptance but naturally saw their diversity of tasks from a different perspective. Little correspondence survives to emphasize their perplexity at the rapid advancements in agriculture and industry outside Orkney. The comprehensive notes made by the elders of the United Secession Church (by 1847 the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland) and to a lesser degree by the kirk session of the Church of Scotland, are devoid of comment on these issues. Whether dissenting Christian worship and organisation had been imported deliberately by Thomas Balfour as a means of encouraging early marriage and to boost the fecundity of his Shoreside fishing families, there is early evidence of dissatisfaction with the ministry of the established Kirk. In 1798 James Haldane preached 'to a multitude' on the shore of Elwick Bay and condemned the alliance growing between Heritors and the Moderate wing of the Kirk, with special reference to Shapinsay and its minister George Barry.<sup>67</sup> Haldane's criticism was to reverberate in island society for the next fifty years and overshadow the ministry of Barry's son and successor. The assertion that Orcadians had a 'supine attitude to religious observance' is Barry senior's postscript to his years (1793-1806) at the manse of Kirbuster.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> The complex issue of social control in a society about to undergo radical structural change is debated in Chapters 3 & 5 with special reference to the role of the Dissenting communities and their relationship with Heritor and established clergy.

<sup>67</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the United Secession Church of Scotland on Shapinsay (1815-1847), pp. 15-192 and O.A., 3/6, Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles, pp. 18-24. J. Haldane, *Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Islands*, (Edinburgh, 1798), p. 109.

<sup>68</sup> Barry, *History of the Orkney Isles*, p.47.

### **The role of secular authority and its relationship with Dissenting opinion.**

Historically the Balfour family had not been averse to changing their religious or political affiliations when opportune. Bishop Hepburn had been dismayed at Gilbert Balfour's lack of respect for the Church in his avaricious assaults on Bishopric land in the 1560s and succeeding generations had sailed close to the wind of temporal and ecclesiastical change before settling, like most of Scotland's gentry, for the socially advantageous adherence to the Scottish Episcopal Church. However, in the case of Samuel Laing and William Balfour, acceptance of the Erastian principles of the ruling elite in Scotland did not extend to support for their feudal Superior, the Earl of Zetland. Indeed, the rivalry between branches of the Dundas family was exploited throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by John, Thomas and William Balfour.<sup>69</sup> Whether by political tract, attempts at alteration of the electoral roll or selection of favourable appointees to local Kirk parishes, they harried Alexander Dundas and his heirs just as relentlessly as the Earls of Morton in former times.<sup>70</sup> The issue at stake could vary from schoolmasters' fees to ministers' stipends or, most frequently, excambion of Crown land. Feu payments were perpetually overdue, often for periods of twenty or more years.

William Balfour and Samuel Laing paid little heed to Voluntarist sentiments, as stated above, on Shapinsay and appeared to value the Secession church's insistence on industriousness and sobriety in addition to their facility for defusing

---

<sup>69</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours, 1747-99*, pp. 87-118. D. Balfour, *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*, Chapter 1. Erastian principles are simply the subordination of the Kirk's influence to the secular interests of the State.

<sup>70</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45 and D2/16/47 contain numerous letters, literally dozens, which catalogue Balfour opposition to Superior privilege. Their belief in the injustice of the Crown tack never wavered.



petty disagreements or handing out weekly admonishments. It was not until the Rev. Robert Paterson began to exert his influence beyond his large Kirkwall congregation (United Presbyterian) that the tensions between Heritor and tenant became public and fractious.<sup>71</sup> Balfours, Laings and Dundases expected support from their Kirk appointees, but a comfortable manse or a well-drained Glebe was rarely the reciprocal gift.<sup>72</sup>

The Erastian principles of kirk moderates and Heritor had been securely rooted in the ministry of George Barry and had been extended to clerical support for modern farming methods and a commercially orientated island community. The respect and support granted to the Secession incumbent by his congregation was in direct contrast to that shown to the Rev. John Barry. Neither congregation nor calling could compete in Barry's literary pretensions. His father's incumbency had seen an enthusiastic welcome granted to Haldane, and declining Kirk membership had not been halted by 1830. The manse was in a ruinous state, with neither Heritor or congregation interested in its repair (the church building was itself in a similar state of ill-repair). John Barry's correspondence, both to William Balfour and his Northern Isles Presbytery, shows clearly that he was not held in high regard and during the latter half of his ministry he preached to numbers well below the full membership of ninety-eight. His letters complain of insulting behaviour by all ages on Shapinsay and it is difficult to assess whether the long mental illness which saw him incarcerated in Gogarburn Asylum (from 1847) was precipitated by his unpopularity

---

<sup>71</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 409.

<sup>72</sup> O.A., OCR/3/6, Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles, p.135. Note of concern for Shapinsay's Glebe on the commencement of the Rev. Scott's ministry in 1846.



or was an unfortunate contribution to the islanders' jaundiced view of him.<sup>73</sup> His petitions to Parliament to stem the advances of 'pernicious influences in our National Church', gained no sympathy or response and the members of the dissenting majority continued to file past his church every Sunday in triumphant procession to the popular sermons of the Rev. James Brown.<sup>74</sup>

The kirk session minutes for the period 1830-1847 record an attendance figure of barely ninety for the Church of Scotland and 300 plus for the Secession. The New Statistical Account, published in 1845, counted 100 families on Shapinsay as members of the Kirk and sixty families as members of the Secession Church. Whether the Secession Church was successful in bringing their total adult membership to worship every Sunday, in contrast to the Kirk, or the compiler was indulging in wishful thinking (he was after all the Rev. Barry) in the NSA report, is an interesting speculation. In all probability the latter was the case.<sup>75</sup> The existence of two churches on Shapinsay, both close to its southern shore and the village of Shoreside, was significant. The majority of the Secession membership were inhabitants of the village or labouring and fishing families concentrated close to their church. The primitive state of cross-island tracks and the nature of the local climate cannot have encouraged the same level of attendance, especially among those members of the Kirk who were more numerous in the north and north-east of the island, scattered over the nine 'pockets'. Accounts for annual collections by Kirk elders show a steady decline from a high point of £14 through the 1830's to the

---

<sup>73</sup> O.A., OCR/3/6, minute of 14 April 1846 reports on 'a ruinous kirk and an unshepherded flock'. D2/7/8, letter of 16 May 1832 from the Rev. John Barry to William Balfour.

<sup>74</sup> O.A., D14/4/12, 'Petition from the Rev. J. Barry to the House of Commons'. James Brown was moderator of the United Secession Church of Shapinsay from 1830 until his death in 1865.

<sup>75</sup> NSA, 1845, vol. XV-Orkney, pp. 79-82. O.A., OCR/3/6, Minutes of the North Isles Presbytery. The entry of 18 June 1844 states, 'The Presbytery having taken into serious consideration the desperate condition of the island and parish of Shapinsay.'

1860's (£5 per annum) and only a recovery in 1872, when a nil entry for the previous year was reversed in a total contribution of £11.<sup>76</sup>

In 1841 the first National Census to be recorded in one twenty-four hour period produced an adult population of 619, out of an overall total of 935, for Shapinsay. Earlier attempts, the first in 1801, had faced a number of difficulties centring round the random nature of the collection and collation of its statistics and the lack of co-operation from many who suspected covert government intentions.<sup>77</sup> The subsequent, 1851, survey of religious attendance in the British Isles has supported the level of attendance of the United Presbyterian Church against that of the Church of Scotland.<sup>78</sup> Assuming the accuracy of the kirk session minutes, cited above, a non-attendance figure of one third of the adult population can be estimated for Shapinsay, which subsequent doubts about the accuracy of the 1851 census would tend to support.<sup>79</sup> The disciplinary codes of the Secession Church, especially articles four (Self Government) and seven (Company Keeping), would certainly have been most uncongenial to those outside the membership of the allied Union of Temperance, not to mention those totally outside the clutches of Shapinsay's Rev. Brown. However, at the height of the anti-burgher and Secession expansion, and

---

<sup>76</sup> O.A., OCR 3/7, Minutes of the North Isles Presbytery, p. 97. These collections ranged from between £6 and £11 per annum, reaching their nadir in 1868.

<sup>77</sup> Until 1841 a complete census of all residents of a specific area was not completed on the one day. Suspicions, within some elements of the population, were held that the census takers were acting as agents for military conscription or, just as frequently, as auxiliary tax or rent informers. The absence of the place of birth and occupation of the censured was another notable omission.

<sup>78</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay; British Parliamentary Papers, 1854, LIX, Census of Great Britain (1851) Religious Worship & Education, Scotland. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland is credited with 336,000 worshippers out of a total of 1.75 million. National Census of Population, 1841, Sheet 28-Orkney Islands.

<sup>79</sup> G.I.T. Machin, *Politics & the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, (Oxford, 1977), pp 114 & 257, and C.G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh, 1997) p. 55-63, have questioned the accuracy of the 1851 census.

prior to the building of their church and manse at Brecks, an incident occurred which probably polarised reaction among the islanders.

In January 1822 a single-masted fishing yole capsized in the String when several of the occupants attempted to change positions in the crowded boat. All sixteen passengers had attended Sunday service at Kirkwall's East Kirk, the newly consecrated church of the Secession, as was their custom in absence of a suitable building on Shapinsay. The griever at the home farm of Sound, George Bell, observed the tragedy from nearby Dishan Point and sent a matter-of-fact report to William Balfour, describing the discovery of seven bodies and acknowledging the complete disappearance of five others. The four survivors had clung to the upturned hull before being rescued. Bell showed scant compassion for either the dead or the survivors and calmly ends his report by thanking the absent laird for remembering one of his old servants, Walter Drever, with a gift of snuff.<sup>80</sup> In a recent monograph P.G. Russell asserts that the 'Shapinsay Boat Disaster' was a major influence in persuading Samuel Laing to grant a feu to the secession faction on Shapinsay. Although there is no record of Laing's reaction to the incident many of his tenants at Papdale, Kirkwall, were worshippers at the Secession Church in the town and would undoubtedly have voiced their disquiet at the risks faced by fellow worshippers travelling from nearby islands.<sup>81</sup> The acceptor of this feu was Alexander Russell, the author's great-great-grandfather, who (the monograph claims) was in complete agreement with James Haldane's comments that Shapinsay was, 'as much in need of

---

<sup>80</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/14/8, letter of 16 January 1823 from G. Bell to Wm. Balfour, Hermiston House.

<sup>81</sup> O.A., D1/4/7, P.G. Russell, *The String Disaster of 1822*, (Shapinsay, 1992). Russell quotes from a diary entry from *The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthly and his brother James Haldane*, (Edinburgh, 1852 (ed.) A. Haldane), p. 1-3, on the state of religious observance on Shapinsay.

the true Gospel of Jesus Christ, so far as respects the preaching of it, as any islands of the Pacific Ocean.’<sup>82</sup>

### **The absence of violent reaction to vested interest.**

Violent resistance, either to landlord control or the privileged position of the Kirk, was practically unknown in Orkney since the Fea ‘kelp riots’ of 1762.<sup>83</sup> Thomson categorises the ‘grudging tenant’ as a centuries old survivor who regarded his landlord and minister as just one more hazard beside wet Springs, cold Summers and early gales in Autumn.<sup>84</sup> William Balfour had, as described above, encouraged the sub-division of arable land to accommodate an increasing population and to satisfy the aspiration of many a tenant’s elder son. The initial fears of mass eviction after his father’s first attempts at enclosure, had been followed by a generation of comparative tranquillity accompanied by a real increase in labouring, farming and fishing incomes and a growing confidence in the community’s ability to withstand the traditional ills of cyclical agricultural depression. Nevertheless, traditional farming methods were succumbing to improvers as near as Caithness where Sir John Sinclair’s apostles were firmly entrenched at Mey and Castletown. Impressive initiatives were also underway at Graemeshall, Stronsay and North Ronaldsay.<sup>85</sup> In

---

<sup>82</sup> Haldane, *The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthly and his brother James Haldane*, p. 109.

<sup>83</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 61. Patrick Fea of Dinatoun and John Fea of Cleat (both from Stronsay) destroyed the harvest of 1762 along with pits and implements in the belief that the smoke and fires produced by the burning of the seaweed, resulted in ‘mortasheen’, a disease in horses. They also said that the fires resulted in poor crops and a dearth of fish and mussels on the shoreline. Both were arrested after a skirmish and fined at Kirkwall Sheriff Court on 28 October 1762.

<sup>84</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 315-332.

<sup>85</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours 1747-99*, pp. 140-141. James Traill of Castlehill and Sir Bruce Dunbar of Hemprigg were confidants of Sir John Sinclair. It was Traill who recommended Thomas Balfour to Pitt’s new Board of Agriculture. R. Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John, The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754-1835* (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 137-139. O.A. Pamphlet 914.1YZ, ‘Report by



addition the 400-acre home farm of Sound had established the viability of green crops, undisturbed by foraging animals, and persevered with its rotations. New agricultural technology like Small's Swing plough had long been available but it required a matched pair of Clydesdale horses and a number of square, well drained, fields to justify its purchase.<sup>86</sup> Orkney had a surfeit of horses but they were small, undernourished and suitable only for pulling light carts. The ox, a subject of intense debate in Orcadian farming circles as late as the 1830's, was still to be seen among Shapinsay's rigs elsewhere on the island. The banishment of such an inexpensive work-animal, and the threat of losing all of their small pack-horses, was greeted with alarm by the peasantry who were quite aware that the new ploughs and harrows arriving from Berwickshire were too heavy for the narrow shoulders and low draught of their oxen. Until larger farm units, with better maintained fields, could be created the ox would survive. Few small tenants could afford the upkeep of a pair of horses whose working life began at six years old and who required more feeding than a family.<sup>87</sup> Covert resistance, similar to that employed by the small tenants of the Holm Estate, was a distinct possibility on Shapinsay where the close proximity of Kirkwall would ensure swift retribution for any tenant involved in overt action. Nevertheless,

---

Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster' (London, 1795), Part V-Orkney Islands, p. 235. Part V of this report was transcribed from an earlier (1793) account by Thomas Balfour.

<sup>86</sup> James Small's 'scientific plough' of the 1790's predated William Penny's first all-iron plough. Known as the 'swing' plough, Small's invention could be lowered or raised to suit varying soils or conditions. Chapter 1 of D. J. Smith, *Discovering Horse-Drawn Farm Machinery*, (Princes Risborough, 1979), outlines the development of the plough.

<sup>87</sup> The economies of farming with oxen had long been a matter of discussion and even an improving tract such as Shirreff's *General View of the Agriculture of the Orkney Islands* proposed the retention of this age-old provider of cheap power and emergency food. A later generation, including David Balfour and Marcus Calder, promoted the Clydesdale as a symbol of capability and advancement.

the uncertainty of their position, faced with an implacable proprietor, drew them closer to a church which had radical ambitions.<sup>88</sup>

### **Physical barriers to agricultural improvement and the legacy of kelp.**

It is a truism that Orcadians view the sea as a highway and not as a barrier. The coat-of-arms for the County is BOREAS DOMUS MARE AMICUS (The North our Home, the Sea our Friend). This attitude had some influence on their complacent regard for road building, especially on islands such as Shapinsay. The family papers of William Balfour reveal that a mile of new road, on level ground, cost £40 with sloping ground increasing the cost by 50%.<sup>89</sup> There had been little change since the 1759 sketch map, unearthed by Marwick, which showed the only 'road' stretching from Cliffdale House to Elwick Mill and then forking past the Church of Scotland near the shore to end a mile away on the edge of the East Hill Common.<sup>90</sup> In the other 'pockets' conditions were more primitive with the two 'peat' boats, two skiffs and the coaster 'Mary Balfour' all utilised in the transfer of stock, collection of seaweed and uplifting of peat from all corners of Shapinsay. It was simple economics to send oncas and bu'men by boat round the coast rather than employ a string of garrons or ponies to carry so many items across the Commonty in straw kishies.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> M. Fry, *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1987), pp. 66-68.

<sup>89</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/81, letter from W. Watt, Kirkwall to Wm. Balfour of 12/7/1834. Watt estimates 6d per fathom for a sloping road on Shapinsay and 3d per fathom on level ground, for construction above existing tracks. New road across virgin land was to cost 2/- per fathom.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, D29/6/4, pencil sketch by H. Marwick dated 1929. The delicate condition of this map precludes any reproduction.

<sup>91</sup> The small, three-rigged, coaster 'Mary Balfour' was used to offload peat and kelp from sites in north Shapinsay and transport them to Kirkwall for export. A kishie is a large straw pannier slung across a horse's back.

The comparative cost of a yole (£6), assembled at Shoreside Village from wood purchased in Norway, with that of building miles of expensive roads, was regarded as a good investment. As Shapinsay was blessed with the sheltered Bay of Elwick, and a multitude of nousts elsewhere on the island, water-transport had advantages over the wheeled variety.<sup>92</sup>

The crucial proto-industry of kelp production stood at the centre of Orkney's economy for more than a century. First produced at Whitehall, Stronsay, by James Fea in 1722, it remained in the proprietors' affections until its abandonment by the Crown Commission for Woods, Fields and Rivers in 1838. The reason given is that, 'The tenantry are now reluctant to produce kelp, prefer cod fishing as a more profitable occupation. Poorer families are unwilling to burn at the price offered.'<sup>93</sup> The burning of seaweed to produce kelp typifies proto- or primitive industry in that it remained in a state of under-development for its entire history on Orkney. The adherence to water transport was of course vital to every kelp laird in enabling him to control every aspect of the primitive process from the gathering and cutting of the raw material to the final export. This included the importation of coal that burned better in the open, flagstone, pits. Whether or not kelp was a 'side-line' or a 'handicap' to progress, it provided employment for 3,000 islanders annually (at its peak in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century), introduced cash into the local economy and could not be satisfactorily replaced after the 1830s as a source of mass employment.<sup>94</sup> The net

---

<sup>92</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/81, see note 109. The cost of repair to wheeled vehicles used on Shapinsay's rutted tracks is given as 'considerable'. Road building by statute labour required many days of quarrying, chipping and hammering in of road surfaces.

<sup>93</sup> NAS, CR/427. This is an extract from a report to Her Majesties Commission for Woods, Fields and Rivers, dated October 1838. Graham of Crantit, Crown factor for Orkney, reports that the kelp trade is now 'untenable'.

<sup>94</sup> Barclay, *The Population of Orkney, 1755-1961*. Table 7, page 9, has a percentage population change of 32% for Evie and Rendall where kelp production was 0.04 tons per head of population.

emigration figures for the following decades, collated by Barclay, could not have been reversed by Orkney's performance in Scotland's agricultural revolution, even allowing for its dramatic improvement.

The expectations raised by the islands' proto-industries, especially by kelp, in the first three decades of the nineteenth-century had raised rents on many estates. The demise of the kelp trade brought down landlord and cottar alike and put an intolerable strain on subsistence farming. In a contextual view of this situation it is relevant to acknowledge that similar problems were experienced by communities in the Western Highlands and the Hebrides where crofters faced starvation or emigration as a direct result of this collapse. Chapter 7 of this thesis will examine the attempts made by David Balfour to convince proprietors in these regions of the need to adopt his 'blueprint' for prosperity and stability. Orkney differed from north-western Scotland in its agricultural capabilities but the kelp trade had left it bereft of labour at the crucial periods of Spring and Autumn. By 1838, however, the numbers who had been employed in cutting, gathering and burning seaweed (3,000 sub-contracted workers) could not be re-employed efficiently in arable farming. Many landowners were aware of this problem but felt obliged, contractually, to continue the trade on a reduced basis in order to cover recently increased rents. The Trenabie Estate produced an average of only 9 tons per year at this time, in spite of advance warning from Edinburgh.<sup>95</sup>

In a Lowland Scottish parish there would be no such dilemma as the Spring activities of sowing and harrowing would have been safely completed at least a

---

Birsay and Harray, which had approximately 250 ex-udallers on small-holdings, had the same production figures and a very small population increase, 3%, for the same period.

<sup>95</sup> O.A., D2/6/12, letter of 29/3/1837 from D. Balfour, Edinburgh, to Wm. Balfour, Cliffdale House. 'The trade is practically dead and should not be pursued this coming Spring or Summer.'



month earlier than was usual for Orkney. Added to this complication was the unpredictability of the weather and the necessity of sowing crops better adapted to the salt-laden gales, which in turn produced shorter straw and lower yields per sown bushel. The Bishopric Estate on Shapinsay was a good example of this practice with the factor and his tenants often preferring to concentrate on kelp and abandon some of the sheads until the following year. Given that the faughing of the rigs with an admixture of shell-sand and shore-weed (*fucus visiculose*) was in itself extremely time-consuming, it is not surprising that the attractions of kelp-burning were not confined to its monetary rewards.<sup>96</sup>

Kelp production on Shapinsay had, however, not been exceptional by Orcadian standards (0.14 tons per head of worker) but it is significant that the lower kelp producing areas of Birsay (too stormy with an unsuitable coastline) and Rousay (similar conditions) saw a decrease in their populations during the most successful years of the kelp trade. Indeed, Shapinsay showed an overall increase of 13% between 1755 and 1811 (the peak years of high profitability) to be topped only by Westray (56%), Sanday (7%) and North Ronaldsay (11%). The corresponding fall in population in other parishes is partially explained by their poor kelp production tallies and by the propensity of small post-udal holdings that could not provide alternative employment or raise cereals of sufficient quantity or quality. A prime example of the above problem can be seen in the parishes of Evie & Rendall which experienced a 32% population loss between 1755 and 1811, while producing 0.04

---

<sup>96</sup> Kelp is a 'volume' industry in which huge amounts of the raw material, seaweed, are required to produce a limited amount of alkaline bar. For every three men or women involved in burning the weed, twelve were employed in cutting, dragging and part-drying the raw material. The peak production, 113 tons, on Shapinsay in 1797 was gathered at seventeen sites utilising 300 men and women. It was estimated, but never accurately weighed, that 20 tons of wet weed would reduce to a ton of alkali.

tons per head. Evie & Rendall were, and have remained, two of the few undeveloped areas of Mainland Orkney. Other Mainland parishes such as Holm and St. Andrews & Deerness, had population losses of respectively 25% and 15% against kelp figures of 0.07 and 0.08 tons per head of producer.<sup>97</sup> It must also be admitted that these neglected parishes were also poorly served by fishing and the cultivation of flax.

As admitted above (see note 93) the demise of the kelp trade had been predicted in 1830 and again in 1836. John Balfour MP, writing to his nephew William (acting factor for his sick father), advised him that none of the 120 tons of kelp produced on the Trenabie Estate had been sold in 1830. His letter also illustrates the importance of the trade to the small tenant,

several of the tenants on your old estate have by their leases certain fixed allowances for making kelp as this affords them employment for their servants and others and a considerable profit to themselves besides, they have a right to insist on being allowed to continue the manufacture...<sup>98</sup>

Although John Balfour was reluctant to dismiss the trade completely, his letter also suggested that a lower price would be acceptable, others poured cold comfort on his offer. Thomas Graham of Crantit (the Crown factor for Orkney) and John Ker (Crown Shipping Agent) agreed that kelp was no longer profitable and that 'the coal now provided for kelp burning is not always being used in the kelp pits'.<sup>99</sup> In fact they made one final effort to revive interest in kelp by offering feu entitlements for all their kelp shores at sums ranging from £274 to £300 per annum per shore. William Balfour responded with offers of £75 to £80 but was reluctant to provide his

---

<sup>97</sup> Barclay, *The Population of Orkney, 1755-1961*, Table 7 'Kelp-making and Population Change in Orkney'.

<sup>98</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/42, letter of 15 June 1830 from J. Balfour MP to W. Balfour, Berstane House, Kirkwall.

<sup>99</sup> O.A., D2/42, letters of 3 September 1830, 21 September 1830 and 30 September 1830 to Wm. Balfour from T. Graham and J. Ker.

Superior with an income of approximately £7,500.<sup>100</sup> He was also confident that the repeal of the Corn Laws was ‘imminent’ and would ‘drive the worst grain out of Southern markets’.<sup>101</sup>

### **The financial barriers faced by the Trenabie Estate prior to 1846.**

William Balfour had been content with his own business strategy and although he had not yet inherited the Trenabie Estate and the proceeds of his uncle’s ‘Indian’ fortune, he had been able to spend £20,000 on his children’s education. David, his remaining child by his first marriage, had benefited from an education at the Edinburgh Academy and a legal training at the University of Edinburgh. William had no intention in allowing his sons to repeat his own unhappy experience at Harrow.<sup>102</sup> No large sums, however, were expended by his uncle on the scattered property of the Trenabie Estate (the 3<sup>rd</sup> laird held land in Rousay, Evie, Westray, Deerness, Orphir and Stronsay). The upkeep of the Sound Estate’s small fleet was no longer supported by kelp earnings and John Balfour refused to let it linger at Elwick Bay. A favourite project, the building of a hospital in Kirkwall, was also abandoned due to the bankruptcy of many of the co-sponsors and the unwillingness of the Balfours to carry the whole expense.<sup>103</sup> William Balfour had not been able to service his drawing account at Sir William Forbes Bank due to the low price he had received for his last consignment of kelp (ninety-three tons at £164/11/1). The possibility of excambion

---

<sup>100</sup> O.A., D2/42, letter of 1 October 1830 to Smith & Kinnear W.S., detailing Wm. Balfour’s reply to Crown offers of feus for kelp-shores.

<sup>101</sup> O.A., D2/42, letter of 1 October 1830.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, D2/23, Balfour Estate Account Book. In all £12,000 was spent on David Balfour’s education. William Balfour had attended Harrow School prior to his short career in the Royal Navy.

<sup>103</sup> O.A., D3/14, letter of 11 January 1831 from Wm. Balfour to Smith & Kinnear W.S.

or division of Shapinsay's Commonty was also delayed due to his lack of liquidity and he did not possess the talent, energy or health to end the stagnation in his agricultural and small-trading enterprises. The longevity of the present incumbent of Trenabie (John Balfour lived until 1842) nullified his chances of inheriting a fortune large enough to transform Sound or the Trenabie Estate into a modern agricultural concern. It must be admitted, however, that he had not borrowed impecuniously (as did many Orcadian and Scottish contemporaries) in an attempt to follow the fashion of improvement simply as a gesture to modernity.<sup>104</sup>

The vexing question of the future of Orkney's 194,000 acres of Commonty did exercise the Trenabie Estate when matters of rent and tenancies arose for their scattered properties. Poor internal communications on all the islands has already been outlined and in 1831 William Balfour had to admit that he was finding it difficult to lease land separated by rough grazing or Commons, 'too far from the nearest habitation'.<sup>105</sup> The rent from his non-Shapinsay property in 1831 was no more, taken at a half-yearly average, than £915/3/5 and existing share stock was sold in 1835 and 1836 at 3 per cent. This left his remaining capital (£6,800) earning a paltry £102 per annum. Low as it was, his rental income was not secure. The Barlas Report was shortly to condemn 'drift' management in the adjacent Crown Estate on Shapinsay and the warning was clear for all other Heritors.<sup>106</sup> In repeating the earlier

---

<sup>104</sup> Thomson, *The New History Orkney*, pp. 336-7. The 'exotic' attempts at land improvement by Sir James Stewart of Burray, Flotta and Cara included gigantic grazing enclosures, enclosed within drystone walls, which rarely held enough cattle to justify the enormous expenditure. Stewart died a bankrupt, leaving his land in the hands of agricultural novices.

<sup>105</sup> O.A., Balfour papers, D2/81. Letter of 28 June 1831 from Wm. Balfour to Smith & Kinnear W.S., lamenting the failure to lease land isolated by the Commonty of Shapinsay. His half-year rental income for that year was £457/11/8.

<sup>106</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2. The 'Barlas Report' of 12 July 1845 was commissioned by the Crown in anticipation of the division of Shapinsay's Commonty. Page 4 of the Report identifies 'drift' management, explained as a passive or complacent administration that ignores improvement and is content to allow the management of an estate to drift into insolvency or stagnation. The same message



advice of Shirreff he made the observation that although famine had not visited Orkney since 1782-3, the failure of the island's proto-economy made it more vulnerable than ever to a return of wet, cold Summers. The unseasonable weather of 1832-5 had also proved the wisdom of his warning.

The four, successive, poor harvests of 1832-5 had been ameliorated by heavy imports of bere, potatoes and meal.<sup>107</sup> The narrow margins between survival and starvation can be illustrated by the experiences of two families, the Drevers of Shoreside Village and their namesakes at Headgeo farm. At the village, Barbara Drever, a widow, earned £3/4/1 from sub-contracting straw-plaiting work to neighbours or relatives, cured fish at an undisclosed sum and took a one-third share of kelp-burning at £1/10/- per reduced ton. As she paid no rent for her cottage in exchange for services at Clifffdale House, it can be estimated that she might save a modest sum in the years when Shapinsay's proto-industries were successful. William Drever, a Crown tenant at Headgeo, farmed seven acres of arable land and twenty-two acres of pasture at an annual rent of £1/5/-. He earned 1/5 for occasional straw-plaiting, an undisclosed sum for a sixth share of a fishing yole and £6 for four tons of kelp (he was a sub-contractor and may have retained a larger sum). The last poor harvest year, 1835, saw his income drop to subsistence levels with his 13-year-old daughter, Margaret, plaiting straw at 3/5 and his fishing curtailed by the stormy weather. In spite of these setbacks, and the imminent birth of his sixth child, William Drever had sound survival instincts, emerging from that last disastrous harvest with

---

is given by Shirreff in Chapter XVIII of *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland*, 'Obstacles to Improvement'.

<sup>107</sup> O.A. D34/R/1/4, Statement of the famine relief as an aftermath of the poor harvests of 1832-5. At a cost of £14/11/2 52 cwts potatoes, 50 bolls of meal and 3 cwts of rye were distributed to the needy.

his family intact and the confidence to extend Headgeo's acreage to 45 acres by incorporating the nearby Quoys farm.<sup>108</sup>

Many of Drever's neighbours were not so fortunate and shortages led to the expenditure of £14/11/2 for 12 tons of meal and 6 cwts of potatoes with a later addition of 3 cwts of rye. They were, unlike Drever, tenants of the Sound Estate which listed no grain or potato surplus that year and posted total earnings of £28/5/5. This modest sum was only made possible by the sale of butter (13 casks for £28/11/-) and kelp (eight tons for £32).<sup>109</sup> A majority of the fishing community had their rent deferred and the Rev. Barry could not collect his stipend of £150.<sup>110</sup> The tenants of the Crown 'pockets' of Shapinsay had similar difficulties where the absentee landlord was forced to defer the majority of rent payments and attempted to make good his losses through feu demands on his Laing and Balfour vassals. William Balfour had arrears of £300/11/10 and there is little doubt that he relished the chance to delay payment. However, with a cattle account grossing little more than £200 he had no option but to reduce stock numbers. The sale of 8,095 lbs of beef to local butchers and associates raised a mere £84/6/8.<sup>111</sup>

The tenantry had fared badly in the lean years described above and the narrow base of their subsistence is obvious when the losses of 1835-6 are reviewed. The harvest was bereft of a third of all oats, one-fifth of bere and half of all

---

<sup>108</sup> O.A., D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L), p. 3, and D9/5, Straw-plaiting Records for Shapinsay, 1833-8.

<sup>109</sup> O.A., D2/1/10, Account Book of Sound, Shapinsay. The total gross revenue was £381/17/3, reduced by expenditure to a profit of £28/5/5.

<sup>110</sup> O.A., D2/7/5. Letter of 3 September 1840 to Graham of Crantit from Wm. Balfour. The sum of £300/11/10, outstanding to the Crown Estate in feu duties, could not be paid (according to Balfour) as the stipend of the Rev. Barry could not be covered by 'exhausted feus'. Balfour also claimed that the 1826 'Act for the Equalisation of Weights & Measures (Scotland)', 'has reduced the value of any crops by £30 per annum'.

<sup>111</sup> O.A., D2/13/8, Stock Book, Sound Estate, 1837-8. 40 cattle are valued at £126/10/- and 20 slaughtered animals produced 8,095 lbs of beef and 360 lbs of tallow.

potatoes.<sup>112</sup> Population increases were still reflecting an earlier, more prosperous, period and the percentage of juveniles and children had risen to 38% of the island's total.<sup>113</sup> The fortunes of the tenantry were put into relief by Barlas's rebuke for absentee landlords and their factors,

they are neither fishermen or farmers and their tenants are bordering on poverty...depending on the scanty crops they raise, and the few fish they catch when the weather is fine...They (the tenants) are unwilling to give any information as to what they can earn by the fishing, or the amount of produce raised or horses kept...but they complain of high rents...<sup>114</sup>

If change was to be brought to Shapinsay's fragile economy, it would not only require capital investment, but an acceptance of contemporary methods by all on the island. Comparisons of stock inventories reveal that little progress had been made since Thomas Balfour's initial investment at Sound. In 1798, fourteen oxen, twenty-one horses and ten ponies were valued at £481. After the 1835-6 crisis 40 cattle, nineteen oxen and twelve horses were valued at £297/8/- and a cow carcass was still only producing 300lbs of beef, a bullock 600lbs and an ox 400lbs. Beef prices had not risen above 2 ½d per lb for over a generation and a pig fetched 10/- against 8/- for a sheep.<sup>115</sup>

The collapse of kelp, straw-plaiting and shallow-water fishing, in one short period, was of course linked to external influences. The withdrawal of the import duties on Spanish barilla hastened the end of the kelp trade and straw-plaiting had the handicap of distant markets and the fickle nature of contemporary fashion.<sup>116</sup> Fishing

---

<sup>112</sup> O.A., D2/2/10, Account Book of Sound, Shapinsay.

<sup>113</sup> Schedule A (attached), The Population of Shapinsay.

<sup>114</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D34/D/4/2, Report to Her Majesties Commission for Woods, Fields and Rivers, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, D2/5 and D2/23, Account Books for 1833-40.

<sup>116</sup> Foden, *Seaweed*, p. 17, and Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 270-2. The decline in the straw-plaiting industry was caused by the expense of importing foreign straw which was

with open, one-masted, yoles was only profitable in good seasons and the shoals of cod, ling and herring by-passed Orkney's shores in seasons when the weather was often at its worst. Tudor has calculated that only eleven of Shapinsay's yoles traded with the well-smacks sent by Billingsgate Market in London and the NSA was equally pessimistic, 'this fishing has been found to be a precarious concern, and less lucrative than was expected.'<sup>117</sup>

In truth none of Shapinsay's proto-industries had developed a reliable technology or industrial base on the island. The gathering, drying and burning of seaweed was performed in the same manner for the 115 years of the industry's life. No attempt was made to centralise collection or devise a kelp-kiln for more efficient burning and straining of the product (the quantity of loose slag left in the kelp 'cake' was often criticised by glass manufacturers). Similarly the flax and straw-plaiting industries relied on the availability of cheap female labour with no thought given to the possibility of a better, more efficient, work environment. Finally, the fishing industry continued to operate for too long with small, vulnerable 16ft yoles which were neither a match for deeper off-shore waters nor capable of weathering a high running tide. The fate of James Mouat of Aith and his younger neighbour, James Allan of Sandsend, is a tragic example of this problem. Initially tenanted to William Balfour as a cottar with the object of clearing a ten-acre moorland site on the East Hill Common, Allan had emigrated to Shapinsay from Eday but was forced back to his old occupation by the need to support an ageing father and mother. Line-fishing

---

seen as superior to the native oat straw. It was believed by many at the time that Queen Victoria's dislike of straw bonnets was the real reason for the industry's decline.

<sup>117</sup> J.R. Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 142-3, and NSA, vol. XV-Orkney, pp. 79-82. The chapters relating to Shapinsay in both the O.S.A. and the NSA are printed in Appendix L.



for cod was the most profitable venture for two men and both Allan and Mouat died on the Holms of Spurness, Sanday, victims of the Westray Firth and the frustration of long periods of inactivity in poor weather. The widowed Betty Mouat retired with her young family to a nearby cottage and relied on the dwindling piece-work of stocking-knitting and straw-plaiting until domestic service eventually rescued her family's livelihood.<sup>118</sup>

Even if the cod or herring season brought reasonable weather, the margin of profit for the fisherman was slim. Cod fetched £12 per ton in the 1830's but required expensive nets and a bigger crew to land a profitable catch. Herring boats cost £90 and with an average seasonal catch weighing in at 60 crans (37½ kilos per cran) at a price of £30, it is not surprising that many fishermen simply sold their catches to the local laird and allowed him to trade with the Dutch or Germans.<sup>119</sup> The fishermen seldom ate their own cod or herring, often resorting to yearling sillocks (cuithies). These immature coalfish were utilised for oil for lamps with the flesh being part roasted, flattened and used as a substitute for bread. Mature coalfish, saith, were plentiful close to the shoreline but drying them was time consuming and earned only a penny per fish. The annual 250,000 crans which were cured, salted and barrelled at Wick in a later era is confirmation that a properly organised herring fishery could have succeeded in Orkney and certainly on Shapinsay.<sup>120</sup>

Lastly the 'Nor-Wast' (Orcadian seasonal migration to the factories of the Hudson's Bay Company) had, by the beginning of our period, ceased to employ large

---

<sup>118</sup> Appendix A (The Population of Shapinsay); Register of Birth, Marriage and Death for Shapinsay and O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental & Valuation Ledger.

<sup>119</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, 'King Herring', pp. 604-9, 614.

<sup>120</sup> David Balfour built a curing station on Helliær Holm in 1879 but could not attract enough boats. The preferred base was at Whitehall, Stronsay.

numbers of young men. Able by the middle of the nineteenth-century to recruit its labour force from 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Canadians, the Company's new policy placed an added strain on a large youthful population.<sup>121</sup> On Shapinsay there was relatively little recruitment for the 'Nor-Wast', but with 35% of the population under fifteen years of age and next to nothing expected of the two absentee Heritors, it was pessimistically predicted that emigration would soon cull the numbers of poor subsistence farmers and unsuccessful fishing families. In one of his first letters on his return to Sound in 1837, David Balfour informed his absent father, in ironic language, that change is necessary, 'in anticipation of another poor, late Summer, as if the past seasons of abundance had given us a right to prescription to the continuance of mercy.'<sup>122</sup>

### **The eve of radical change on Shapinsay.**

The return of David Balfour to his ailing father's dilapidated house of Cliffdale was opportune for the Trenabie Estate and precipient for all the inhabitants of Shapinsay. At the age of twenty-six he was thrust into the administration of Sound by the ill-health of his father (now rarely seen in Orkney and resident at Hermiston House near Edinburgh) and the lack of ability displayed by his half-brother William, who had been acting as estate factor. He soon became 'Younger of Trenaby' and quickly adopted a stricter regime at Sound.<sup>123</sup> Un-Orkadian in speech and manner, he had

---

<sup>121</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 371-3. Some contracts were issued in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but only for longer periods and for designated trades.

<sup>122</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter from D. Balfour, Sound to Wm. Balfour, Hermiston House, dated 11 March 1837.

<sup>123</sup> O.A. D2/16/45, all letters from this time until February 1846 (death of William Balfour) were addressed to 'D. Balfour Esq., Younger of Trenaby'.

shrewdly surveyed his future inheritance and had no intention of permitting 'unworthy' occupations or lax administration to interfere with his future plans for the whole Trenabie Estate (which he would inherit, after his father, on the death of his childless great-uncle, John Balfour MP). In a letter to his new grieve at Sound he underlined his 'improving' credentials by scolding Frisken's handling of the 'new' grass at the home farm, 'not a hoof of mine should be set on the parks at Cliffdale...the sheep are there every night. I will not allow this and I cannot understand of any necessity in this case to disobey orders.'<sup>124</sup> George Reid, and his brother-in-law Magnus Williamson, fared no better with 'Younger of Trenaby' and earned a severe censure for their habit of transporting the estate's animals to Kirkwall twenty-four hours before their arranged sailing time for southern markets and lodging in the town at Balfour's expense. Reid had earlier called Balfour 'most insolent' and 'full of sauce and sulkiness', when reprimanded for drunkenness.<sup>125</sup> Reid had now no hope of promotion within the Trenabie Estate and the recent appointment of George Frisken as farm manager, after years of experience in Berwickshire and Caithness, set the tone for the young laird's intended transformation.

---

<sup>124</sup> O.A., D2/16/45 letters of 26 August 1845 and 8 October 1845 from D. Balfour, Cliffdale House to Wm. Balfour.

<sup>125</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 8 October 1845.

## Chapter Two

### The 'surge of energy years' - Shapinsay under one proprietor.

William Balfour, 4<sup>th</sup> Laird of Trenaby, died on the 10<sup>th</sup> February 1846 at Hermiston House (Midlothian), and left his entire estate in the hands of his eldest son by his first marriage.<sup>1</sup> David Balfour, aged thirty-five at the time of his father's death, was already well versed in the affairs of his 26,000 acre inheritance with all its onerous responsibilities. The advice of senior family members (John Balfour, Thomas Balfour MP and George Balfour W.S.) had been readily accepted.<sup>2</sup>

### The Trenabie Estate in February 1846.

The daily administration of the Trenabie Estate had changed little since William Balfour had assumed control of Sound, Shapinsay in 1801 and had acted as factor for his uncle (John Balfour) on the other islands (Westray, Stronsay and Sanday) of this estate. Indeed, his policy of 'change to stay the same', outlined in Chapter 1, was not dissimilar to those of contemporaries elsewhere in Orkney who were unsure of future policy in the volatile economy of the post-Napoleonic years. To this uncertainty

---

<sup>1</sup> Mary Balfour Manson was a second cousin and first wife of William Balfour. She was survived by only three offspring, David, Thomas and William, when she died in 1821. William remarried in 1822, to Mary Manson Baikie, and fathered a further seven children.

<sup>2</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/1/9. The title of Trenaby refers to the person at its head. Trenabie is the name applied throughout this text, gleaned from family papers, to his estate. The Trenabie Estate had a total of 26,060 acres spread over the islands of Westray, Stronsay, Rousay, Eynhallow, Sanday, Shapinsay and the West Mainland of Orkney. The N.S.A. (1845, vol. XV-Orkney) summarises the individual characteristics of these properties. John Balfour (1750-1842), 3<sup>rd</sup> Laird of Trenaby, had amassed an 'Indian' fortune in the region of £250,000. Thomas Balfour M.P. for Orkney and Shetland (1800-1874) and George Balfour W.S. (1802-1878) are included in the Balfour genealogical table (fig. 6, below).



could be added the problems of restrictive land tenure and the unpredictability of farming and trading in a hostile climate which had attracted only piecemeal solutions. The financial disasters of proto-industrial collapse had not been addressed, especially by landlords dependant on kelp revenues, and land values remained at a low of approximately £1 per acre. Nevertheless, it was consistent Trenabie policy to acquire more land. In the last years of his father's life, therefore, David Balfour had acquired Eynhallow, the Crown Estate on Shapinsay (both in 1844) and the smaller Sandstoun Estate (in 1845).<sup>3</sup> The saleable value of the estate in 1846 was estimated at £89,600 but dividends, sale of share stock (not a frequent occurrence) and agricultural and fishing profits, rarely produced a cash balance in excess of £4,000.<sup>4</sup> Banking institutions were not readily inclined to lend sums in the volume, or at the terms, which was required to convert an entailed estate into a viable commercial proposition. Alexander Neill, agent to the British Linen Bank, had made the following comment to the Commission on Scottish Entails; 'I have never found that any men of capital would advance money upon such a security'.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the succinct proposals of John Shirreff (Sheriff- Depute for Orkney & Shetland) had, with rare exceptions, not been implemented by Orkney's merchant lairds, as is eloquently

---

<sup>3</sup> O.A., Register of Sasines – Orkney & Shetland, LXXI, pp. 112-114. Sasine nr. 146 (1844) Eynhallow seized by William Balfour of Sound. Sasine nr. 196 (1844) Bishopric Estate on Shapinsay seized by William Balfour and Sasine nr. 209 (1845) estate of Samuel Laing, Sandston, seized by William Balfour. Third Statistical Account for Scotland (1985), vol. XIX-Orkney. The reporter, Rev. J.H.Boyd, notes that in 1884, Capt. David Balfour of Balfour 'still held 29,054 acres on Orkney with an annual valuation of £7,548'. This figure was actually larger as the Trenabie Estate at Clestrain, Orphir, had been given to Eleanor Alder-Edmenston as a wedding gift on her marriage to David Balfour on 10 December 1844 (Sasine nr. 180, 1845). Throughout the nineteenth-century it was Balfour policy to retain or exchange (excambion) land but not to relinquish any fertile acreage.

<sup>4</sup>O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/23. This box contains a forty-year long correspondence between Smith & Kinnear W.S. and William Balfour, outlining prevailing economic and fiscal trends and proffering advice. The estimated sale value of the Trenabie Estate, £89,600, was calculated by James Kinnear on the basis of current land prices.

<sup>5</sup> R.H. Campbell, *Owners and Occupiers*, (Aberdeen, 1991), p. 112.

illustrated by Shrank's examination of the Holm Estate of the Sutherland-Graeme family. Theory and practice were rarely bedfellows in the annals of improved estate management.<sup>6</sup>

Private Acts of Parliament were still required to deal with any problem of debt arising from disputes on tailzie (entailed land). After the partial success of the 1836 Rosebery Act which permitted entailed estates to be sold in part to resolve indebtedness, the 1848 Rutherford Act finally gave heirs the right to disentail and sell their property at will.<sup>7</sup> Although few of Orkney's gentry took immediate advantage of these Acts, nevertheless, they represented a victory for David Balfour and his former colleagues at the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh who had appended comments to the pre-Rutherford Commission. The following observation is typical of their submissions; 'in the procedure of entailing...the bulk of the land of Scotland (was withdrawn) from being the subject of commerce.'<sup>8</sup> In relation to the long awaited fortune of John Balfour (he died on the 14<sup>th</sup> October 1842), the Rutherford Act played a crucial role for David Balfour. Too late to satisfy the limited ambitions of his father, William, it fell in totality into the lap of his heir.<sup>9</sup> Although he had one remaining brother and seven step- brothers and sisters, David Balfour inherited the whole of the Trenabie Estate as primogenitor (see fig.5 below). For the remaining forty years of his life he took scrupulous care of 'his' family, doling out advice to miscreant step- brothers and discouraging over-ambitious projects or

---

<sup>6</sup> J. Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1814). The penultimate chapter, XVIII, lists the twenty-two remedies for the reconstruction and advancement of a rural economy. G. Shrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall, 1827-1888*, (East Linton, 1995). Chapter 4 surveys the changes carried out at Holm and describes the pitfalls of contemporary theory when opposed to local pragmatism and absentee ownership.

<sup>7</sup> AP, 14<sup>th</sup> Act William IV, 1836 and 28<sup>th</sup> Act Victoria, 1848.

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, *Owners and Occupiers*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>9</sup> O.A., Register of Sasines – Orkney & Shetland LXXI, Sasine nr. 116 (24 August 1848).

unsuitable marriages. He would not, however, countenance any family criticism of his management of the Trenaby Estate or of his intellectual pretensions. The early attempts at enclosure and excambion, practised by Thomas Balfour

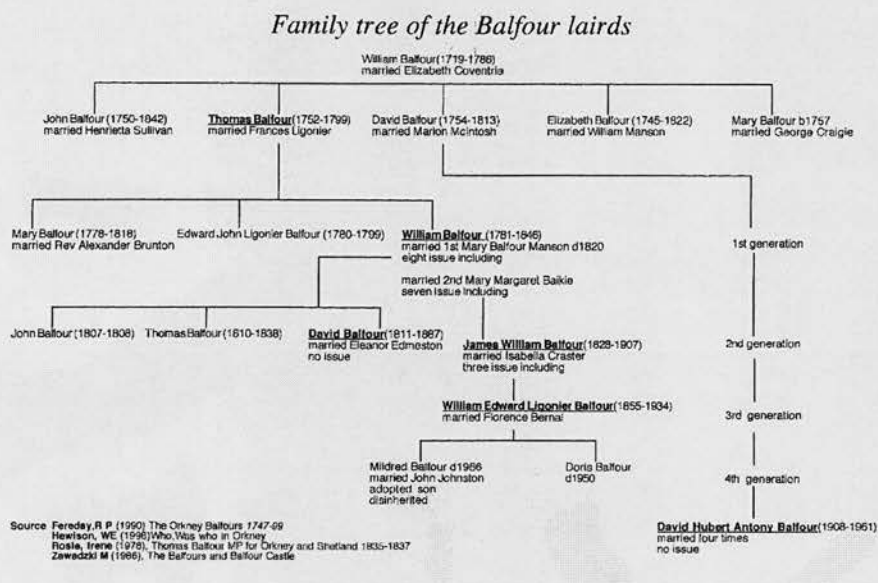


Fig. 5 Genealogy of the Balfours of Trenaby.

and William Balfour on Shapinsay, had not progressed further than approximately 700 acres of indifferent pasture and a rotation system which struggled to sustain over-wintered livestock.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Excambion is the Scots legal term for land exchange. Originally it was practiced alongside or complimentary to runrig and allowed tenants to add old rigs to improved or enlarged farms. The slow rate of improvement prior to the Rutherford Act is often, mistakenly, attributed to this practice. The real reason for slow development was the inadequacy of the 1770 Montgomery Act which had limited landowners of entailed estates to excambion of no more than 30 acres of arable plus 100 acres of other land. Coupled with the 1846 Drainage Act (AP, Act 21, Victoria, 1846), excambion agreements effectively encouraged the two stages of improvement & enclosure and consolidation of farmland. When Smith & Kinnear advised William Balfour (O.A., Balfour Papers, D 2/ 1/ 9, letter of 23 February 1837) that the Second Division of the Court of Session had sanctioned the addition of feu duty to the valuation of land which would be released by the division of the Commonty of Shapinsay,

The disruption to Shapinsay's small farmers caused by Thomas Balfour's early attempts at enclosure, and the creation of Shoreside Village, is not difficult to imagine. These 'peerie' tenants (Orkadian dialect for small farmers) had formerly occupied some of the best farmland in the County and any residual resentment they may have harboured after their eviction, and resettlement, is difficult to discover.<sup>11</sup> William Balfour had, as already mentioned, believed in retaining as many smallholdings as possible. His son, however, would be in charge of the destiny of all the tenants on Shapinsay and did not share his father's mistrust of radical change. Furthermore, the 'flittin' of former cottars, or 'oncas', to Shoreside had abolished their many tedious (unpaid) duties and housed them in better accommodation. The kelp boom of 1780- 1830 had introduced money into their island economy and, for many, modest savings had been possible. In addition the Government bounty of £4 per ton for cod and ling had allowed William Balfour to encourage settled occupations, even if none of the bounty money found its way into the pockets of his villagers.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the experience of many small tenants elsewhere in Scotland, agrarian improvement had not yet provided the employment opportunities and proto-industrial developments were in a state of near collapse. Devine's contention that, 'potential discontent was defused because dissolution of the latter system coincided with a rapid increase in employment opportunities as a result of agrarian improvement and the first phase of industrialisation', is therefore problematical when

---

they believed that the decision of Lords Belhaven, Meadowbank and Medwyn would place an intolerable burden on any improving laird. This may go some way to explaining the reticence of William Balfour and the postponement of purchases of surrounding land.

<sup>11</sup> The Garson sketch-map of the 'peerie' farm-sites which pre-dated the improvements of Thomas Balfour is already displayed in Chapter 1 (fig.3).

<sup>12</sup> A. Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, (East Linton, 1997), pp. 595- 602.



applied to the Orcadian experience and Shapinsay in particular.<sup>13</sup> The dawn of a new proprietorship with an outspoken antipathy to the mixed economy of these years disrupted the cosy paternalism of the previous administration. The traditional cereal production and the remnants of straw-plaiting and kelp production (97 tons had been produced on Shapinsay in 1843-4) were seen by the new proprietor as disabilities and a threat to his ambitions for the Trenabie Estate. In addition he had just assumed control of two other estates on Shapinsay with many tenants who had no direct experience of his style of leadership. Therefore, before examining his actions on assuming full legal control (in fact he did not seize the last acreage on Shapinsay until the 8<sup>th</sup> June 1848), it is necessary to put these 'disabilities' into their proper perspective.<sup>14</sup>

### **The 'disability' of Shapinsay's proto-industrial occupations.**

Shapinsay's compact 7,300 acres shared all of Balfour's 'disabilities' and can be seen as a microcosm of Orkney's urgent need for a solution to its stagnating economy.<sup>15</sup> The proto-industry which caused the greatest controversy was inextricably linked to the older cereal based, seasonal, economy and the employment of practically every able-bodied woman and juvenile on the island (not to ignore between 40% and 50% of men). Generically named the 'kelp-trade', it employed upwards of 3,000 people every season in Orkney and an estimated 300 on Shapinsay.

---

<sup>13</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660 – 1815*, (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 161.

<sup>14</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter to George Henderson of 8 June 1846. The use of 'disabilities' is a frequent term for David Balfour's attitude to proto-industry.

<sup>15</sup> The term 'proto-industry' has already been explained in Chapter 1.

An industry which employed the most rudimentary technology, it cut across the traditional seasonal activities associated with sowing and threshing and gave rise to ambivalent attitudes among large estate owners with improving credentials.<sup>16</sup> At the height of its popularity the kelp trade brought a clear profit of anything up to £10 per ton to Orkney lairds who were able to utilise mass labour at between £1/10/- and £2 per ton.<sup>17</sup> The small tenant farmers who accepted these informal contracts were provided with bill-hooks, poles and primitive rakes by the proprietor and sub-contracted the cold, wet, sub-littoral work to 'oncas'. All payment to the tenant sub-

---

<sup>16</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 58-66 and F. Foden, *Seaweed*, letter nr. 20 from the *Orcadian View*, give a complete summary of the development, boom and demise of the kelp trade. Begun in Orkney in 1722 on the island of Stronsay by the Fea family, the collection and burning of littoral seaweed (usually *fucus serratus* or *aschophyllus nodosus* [known as asco]) or tang, for the soda-ash deposits which were in increasing demand by the glass and soap industries. Kelp, the ochre coloured residue of burned seaweed, was a labour intensive industry requiring a large workforce for two major operations; the cutting and transport of the weed from its littoral site to the shallow burning pits, and the two-day long process of burning, raking and extracting the kelp 'cakes'. Both operations were arduous and the clouds of thick, choking, smoke were extremely unpleasant for the, predominantly female, workforce. The inherent weakness of the trade was in the inferior quality of the soda content. As early as 1800, Robert Jameson, writing a 'Dissertation Upon Peat and Kelp' (*Mineralogy of the Scottish Isles*, (Edinburgh, 1800), vol. ii, pp. 242-251) showed that kelp produced only a maximum of 5-6lbs quality alkali from 100lbs bulk weight. Barilla, the burned residue of goosefoot (a saltwort native to the shores of Mediterranean France and Spain) was four times more alkali-rich. The ending of the Napoleonic Wars and the eventual lifting of import duties on barilla, led to the rapid decline of the kelp trade and its abandonment by the larger proprietors in 1838. Lacking any sophisticated technology, it was unable to benefit from the demand for iodine derivatives in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 20<sup>th</sup> century requirement for laminarias for food production (kiln-dried in small factory units). The 'ambivalent' attitude of Orkney's lairds is typified by David Balfour's reply to his father's Leith agent, Mowbry & Son, who had advised him that 'the production of kelp is now rare and unless independent contracts are found at £5 per ton, the trade will die' (O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/1/9, letter of 18 February 1837). Mowbry was instructed that no kelp would be produced in future unless there was a prior demand and that existing stocks were to be sold at the price offered. The 'wasteful' use of labour and the 'unscientific' use of seaweed for outdated agricultural practices is condemned in the same letter. Prior to David Balfour's purchase of the Crown Estate on Shapinsay, its factors had made repeated and unsuccessful attempts to resuscitate the trade through the sale of cheap feus.

<sup>17</sup> N.A.S., CR/427, Reports to Her Majesties Commission of Woods, Forests and Rivers. This long report is mainly concerned with the dying kelp trade and contains a letter from Graham of Crantit (Crown factor for Orkney) of 17 November 1835 which includes the Shapinsay harvest of 1835. Approximately nine tons have been produced at a sale price of £22/ 15/ 2. The nine tenants collected a total payment of £12/ -/ 8. It was customary to engage a tenant farmer as sub-contractor who in turn employed cottars to haul, cut and burn the weed. Roughly 20 tons of wet seaweed was required for one ton of alkali. In 1825, however, Samuel Laing advised the Commission that he farmed 25 tons of kelp at a profit of £191/ 5/ - after deduction of £2/ 2/ - for 'manufacture', a sale price of £10 per ton. Thomas Balfour had earned a record income from kelp, £600, in 1792 from an unspecified tonnage (probably 40 tons as he held only three profitable sites on Shapinsay), see O.A., D2/23/14.

contractors was made on account and usually deducted from their annual rent at Martinmas. Extant lists of kelp gatherers identifies the best collecting areas which are often those where late faughing and broadcasting reflected the numbers employed in kelping in Spring and Autumn, often to the detriment of cereal yields.<sup>18</sup> David Balfour was therefore faced with the problem of integrating a tenancy on Shapinsay which had experienced three distinct styles of proprietorship: the absentee and run-down Laing Estate with a preponderance of fishing and low yield subsistence farming; the larger Crown Estate which had relied heavily on kelp and whose agricultural priorities had centred round the maximum extraction of cereal crops, and the aforementioned estate of his late father.

Linked to the 'disability' of kelp were three other proto-industries, all in varying states of decline across the County. They were flax cultivation (for linen or lint production), straw-plaiting and fishing. The sowing and harvesting of the flax crop had not profited the Lindsay and Ross families (see Chapter 1) on Shapinsay and their subsequent bankruptcy was a fate shared with a number of Orcadian families. Flax has a long-term degenerative effect on alluvial soils, its labour requirements are extensive and, by the 1780s, had begun to feel the adverse effects of Irish competition which had invested in superior technology. The poor harvests of 1782-4 were equally disastrous for the flax crop and although its production lingered on in Orphir and Sandwick (Mainland Orkney) it was abandoned on Shapinsay by

---

<sup>18</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/1/10 and D2/5. The overall yield for the years 1795-7 is 50-70 bolls (at 160lbs per boll) of bere and 70 bolls of oats. The kelp harvest was on an average of 100 tons for this period. The account for 1837 shows a kelp harvest of 81 tons against a cereal tonnage of 163 bolls. Seasonal fluctuations in the cereal crop were also a reflection of the weather conditions (1797 was a good year following on from the poor harvests of the previous three years. 1836 was a poor harvest year).

Thomas Balfour.<sup>19</sup> Straw-plaiting, like flax and linen production, was a large employer of home-based female labour. In its zenith years it employed 108 women in Shapinsay who earned between 3d and 6d per day on piece-work. Spinning had required no more sophisticated equipment than a fireside wheel but straw-plaiting was harsher on the hands and relied completely on manual dexterity. The woven, or plaited, straw had originally been from a crop of rye but the yellow straw from North Italy (Leghorn) became more popular and supplies to Northern locations, therefore, became more expensive. The dictates of fashion, which coincided almost exactly with the first years of Queen Victoria's reign, was the final downfall of this expedient occupation.<sup>20</sup> Although welcomed by the local women as a cash earner (and utilised by some lairds to raise rents) radical agriculturists like David Balfour proscribed weaving and straw-plaiting as 'unworthy', fit only for the pauper or those deemed unfit for the new commercial farming.

Fishing, however, posed greater problems. As a seasonal occupation in Orkney it employed large numbers of the most able-bodied and youngest islanders of both sexes. Every Spring season fifty Shapinsay yoles (a dozen operated directly by the Sound Estate) fished for cod, ling and saith (cuithies), some for outside buyers, caught lobsters for the Billingsgate dealers in London and chased the Summer shoals of herring for the Dutch, German and Danish busses.<sup>21</sup> Fish-stocks, even in the

---

<sup>19</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 363-366 and Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 491-3.

<sup>20</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D9/5, Straw-plaiting Records for Shapinsay (Appendix N), 1833-8. The National Census for Great Britain (1841), sheet 28 (Orkney), records 28 women as 'straw-plaiters' and a smaller number (ten) as 'stocking knitters' (see also Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay).

<sup>21</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 603-5. Cod was at a premium during the Napoleonic War period and drew a Government bounty of £4 per ton. Lobster fetched 6d to 9d per foot but ling was not so highly valued (1/- per barrel). Saithe, usually caught close to the shore, was used exclusively for domestic consumption. Herring, also favoured domestically, depended on varying prices arranged by outside sources.



second quarter of the nineteenth century, were not a constant or reliable commodity and the dangers of small, single sailed, yoles in Shapinsay's coastal tide-streams made the pursuit of the (often elusive) herring, less and less appealing. Line fishing for cod or ling involved longer periods at sea, often close to the swift ebb-tides of the Westray and Stronsay Firths. Although fish stocks were not yet in decline, they were significantly lower in waters close to the Mainland of Orkney (Shapinsay included), adding to the chances that fishing would sink to the status of just another subsistence occupation. In proprietor priorities it became ever less profitable, more time consuming and (in improvers' eyes) detrimental to the extension and modern cultivation of shoreline farms. Also, like kelp production, it took large numbers of potential farm labourers, quarrymen or ditchers, away from the close supervision of landlord and factor. The risky freedom of the waves was, therefore, proscribed along with runrig cultivation, weaving, straw-plaiting, the single stilt plough and the ox.

Shapinsay's tenantry had long subsisted on an annual calendar of these proto-industries, interwoven with small-scale stock rearing and a modest surplus (in good harvest years) of bere meal and grey oats. They had also relied on their proprietor's benevolence (perhaps complacently) to protect them against seasonal disruptions and temporary hardship. In addition it appears that the Trenabie Estate treated many of its tenants on an individual basis, fixing their annual rents on the type of land, the tenant's occupation (i.e. whether he fished &/or farmed, or doubled as blacksmith or cobbler), or his or her ability to pay.<sup>22</sup> A good example is provided by James

---

<sup>22</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122 and Appendix L. The Rental Book and Valuation Ledger highlights the varying rent paid by all of the tenants on the Trenabie (formerly Sound) Estate. D2/2/2 contains a petition, answered in the affirmative, from George Bell (farm griever) to his laird requesting a suspension of sucken rights and the substitution of one overall rate for the use of the laird's mill. A further missive, also dated 2 December 1837, from tenant William Heddle urges William Balfour to continue with the same system of milling, 'until the end of the season'.

Meason who farmed the forty acre shoreline Furstigarth. Meason paid an annual rent of £4 for twelve acres of arable and twenty-eight acres of pasture close to the Bay of Crook. He did not fish. His neighbour, William Work of Little Feaston (the 'ston' ending indicated an inland pioneer farm won from hill ground or moorland) farmed his ten-acre holding and fished to support a family of five, plus an elderly dependant. His annual rent was static at 14/-. Although these rents were not uniform, they were grudgingly accepted under the assumption that a poor harvest (or catches) would be rebated against a future surplus. Contrary to perceived Orcadian opinion, the racking up of rents by local lairds prior to the agricultural revolution was not a universal norm. Much has been made of the nineteenth century evictions in Rousay and North Ronaldsay and although these events were hastily executed and harsh, they were neither the rule nor the norm in that period.<sup>23</sup>

On the eve of his acquisition of the whole island of Shapinsay David Balfour had an annual rent roll of £484/ 6/ 3. Even allowing for the profitability of lobster or cod fishing (estimated at an annual £200), the export of potatoes to Norway, small-scale cattle rearing or the breeding of Shetland ponies, he would not be able to raise the standard of his tenanted property without a massive injection of 'new' money. The racking of rents, so counterproductive in the neighbouring Rousay Estate, was not an alternative progressive measure for an estate, which would require an infrastructure of harbours, roads and agricultural buildings. The planned erection of

---

<sup>23</sup> At the conclusion of a paper given to the Orkney Historical Society in November 2000, in Kirkwall's Old Town Hall, the author was subjected to sustained criticism from the floor. Some of the gathering were disinclined to believe in the authenticity of early nineteenth century rent rolls, preferring a largely held belief that rents were always increased at every opportunity and without relevance to the material state of the tenantry.

an impressive neo-gothic castle on the site of the old Clifffdale House was, in addition, an expense that no amount of raised rent could hope to finance.<sup>24</sup>

The problems facing David Balfour in February 1846 were, therefore, complex and required firm decisions within a short space of time. There was no doubting his improving intentions as attested to by many letters addressed to his ailing father, nor his determination to transform his estate and its tenantry. In one of his last letters to Hermiston House he comments, 'I have great hopes that the spirit of the people is awakened on the subject of their own interest in improvement'<sup>25</sup> Although Shapinsay was to be transformed into the *fons et origo* of a commercial agricultural estate, the problems of his dispersed holdings (over six islands) could not be handled in such a centralised manner. Investment was a prerequisite and although he had also inherited a fortune it was held in a trust fund with generous but stipulated expenditure (half-yearly amounts of £5,000). The examples of past administrations showed that he had as tenants some of the best, and hardest working, farmers in Orkney. By acting quickly to resolve the problems of proto-industrial failure and the threatened livelihoods of a growing population restrained by a lack of productive land, he had to avoid the pitfalls which had engulfed many a contemporary. Although Orkney was still isolated from much of the commercial and social life of mid-nineteenth century Britain, it could not continue to pursue the policies of the past century. If trade and prosperity were to be fostered, all of Orkney's people would have to be brought into the commercial world. The confused nature of land use and

---

<sup>24</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 17 May 1847 from David Kinnear to D. Balfour. An estimate is enclosed from David Bryce, architect, for the building of 'Balfour Castle' at a cost of £6,735/ 17/-. Kinnear was 'a little frightened at the expense'.

<sup>25</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 16 August 1845 to William Balfour, Hermiston House, Midlothian.

tenancy, highlighted by the fragmentation of Shapinsay's nine 'pockets' sharing three administrations, had to be radicalised before the scourge of emigration became the only solution.

### **The initial problems of creating one society and one productive tenancy.**

Previous generations of proprietors had paid little or no attention to the welfare or productivity of Shapinsay's population. In 1846 an area not in excess of 3,000 acres was barely supporting a population of approximately 950. The annual rental raised only 10/- per arable acre with William Balfour's statement; 'My objection to farms being large is that I derive a greater profit from farms being small', needing no further clarification.<sup>26</sup> As outlined in Chapter 1, his comments were not unreasonable measured against the uncertainty of the post- Napoleonic period. The tenants' position was predictably different, with any changes to their annual routine viewed with outright suspicion. Their fears were, of course, fuelled by anecdotal evidence gleaned from a previous generation of tenants who had witnessed the evictions at Sound in the 1780s, and from contemporaries who had first hand experience of similar occurrences on North Ronaldsay (1828-32) and Rousay (1841-2). They, and their new laird, also had shared memories of recent attempts at large-scale commercial farming in Orkney and the Scottish mainland, which frequently failed.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122. The 'Rental Book and Valuation Ledger' (Appendix L) gives a breakdown of rented farms between arable, pasture and moor. The figure of 10/- per acre is based on arable land only and carried a projection of 250% to 300% increases, subject to full scale squaring and enclosure. The Poor Law Enquiry of 1843, from which William Balfour's comments are quoted (vol. xxi, p. 228), showed that smaller holdings on Eday fetched an annual rent of £1 per acre against 7/- per acre for larger holdings.

<sup>27</sup> The trail-blazing exploits of Grant of Monymusk and Lord Kaimes (at Blair Drummond) were impressive but failed commercially.



In this context John Irvine W.S. (1770-1850), trustee to the estate of Graemeshall (in the Mainland parishes of Holm and Toab), had been determined that although his client was young, profligate and an absentee landlord, he would not make the same mistakes of previous improvers. An acquaintance of David Balfour and a boyhood friend of Sir Walter Scott, Irvine is described by Schrank as; ‘an ideologue tied to the rationale of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, with an inflexible attitude to the canon of improved farming theory’.<sup>28</sup> Irvine had issued his first instructions to the estate factor, David Petrie, in 1828 for the transformation of Graemeshall and all of the County of Orkney was aware of his successes and failures. David Balfour, wearing alternatively the hats of lawyer and proprietor took a keen interest in Petrie’s first enclosures, his success in coercing his reluctant tenants and (ultimately) the failure of Irvine to surmount the handicaps posed by a permanently absent Heritor who brought no investment or commitment to his properties.<sup>29</sup> The small, poor, tenants on the fringes of Shapinsay’s two Hill Commons had just as keen an interest in Irvine’s actions at Holm. The loss of grazing rights by their contemporaries at Graemeshall (in both communities the poorer tenants relied heavily on Summer rough grazing for a few cattle, horses and pigs) and the withdrawal of peat-cutting rights, had pauperised half a dozen families who were forced to survive on the meagre wages of a farm servant.

David Balfour, however, was now in charge of a much larger and more disparate community, spread over all the major North Isles of Orkney. He had little or no respect for absentee Heritors or feudal Superiors and lost no opportunity to

---

<sup>28</sup> Schrank, *An Orkney Estate*, p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46. Letter of 29 September 1854 to D. Petrie, Holm, compares harvest yields and boasts, ‘I shall finish loading today the healthiest crop I ever saw in Shapinsay...’

promote his own form of paternalism or indeed to advance his ancestral pedigree.<sup>30</sup> The poor agricultural years of 1830-5 had delayed proto-improvers but had added to his determination to adopt a policy of close supervision much in the style of his great-grandfather William Balfour.<sup>31</sup> In letters to his father from his post-university 'tour' of continental Europe, he was disparaging about populations who he thought were lacking in Orcadian steadfastness and 'our sturdy self-dependence of solitude'.<sup>32</sup> 'Younger of Trenaby' utilised the years before his father's death to gain the experience that would be vital for Shapinsay's development. Although he faced dogged opposition from local gentry and their Superior, he was confident that a combination of sole ownership, permanent residence, and legal and political acumen would move the Trenaby Estate (and Shapinsay in particular) away from the endemic problems of island communities and the instability of subsistence economics.

The most pressing problem was the lack of a viable internal and external transport infrastructure. By 1846 steam navigation had barely influenced Orkney's trade with mainland Scotland and communications with the archipelago's two-dozen inhabited islands was practically unchanged from those described by Patrick Fea of Stove (Sanday), three generations earlier.<sup>33</sup> Shapinsay did have an excellent deep anchorage and an impressive collection of small inshore boats but traversing the

<sup>30</sup> D. Balfour, *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*, (Edinburgh, 1860), pp. 2-8. The whole volume is permeated with these sentiments, with the most pejorative language reserved for the Morton and Dundas Superiorities.

<sup>31</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours, 1747-99*, Chapter 2, 'Our New Great Man', pp. 38-42. William Balfour (1719-1786) had cut his agricultural teeth as factor to Zetland on Shetland.

<sup>32</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/3/17, letter of 19 April 1843 from D. Balfour, Boulogne, to W. Balfour. 'Our sturdy self-dependence of solitude' is used here to contrast 'the withered old woman of Boulogne' with Kirkwall. Local opposition usually congregated round the complaisant administration of the Zetland Earldom.

<sup>33</sup> W.S. Hewison (ed.), *The Diary of Patrick Fea of Stove, Orkney, 1766-1796*, (East Linton, 1997). There are references, almost daily, to inter-island transport for peat, fuel and livestock.

island's eight-mile girth was impossible for any wheeled conveyance. The relatively short journey from Shoreside Village to Furstigarth on the Bay of Crook (see fig.1, Chapter 1), a journey of only three miles, took two hours on foot and even longer when leading a horse or pony loaded with kishies (straw panniers). The same task took forty-five minutes by sea with a favourable wind and tide. The remainder of the Trenabie Estate was, of course, more difficult to reach and administer as a journey to Pierowall (Westray) or Whitehall (Stronsay) could take six hours, or even a day, depending on sea conditions.<sup>34</sup> An inter-island steamer service was still a long way from fruition so individual islands belonging solely or partially to one estate were administered as self-contained enterprises with separate rent and crop books and a grievie (farm manager), responsible to the estate factor. Progressive transport legislation was therefore necessary before the transference of livestock, grains, seed, peat or people could be effectively utilised. On Shapinsay alone, David Balfour had to wrestle with the logistics of eight coastal 'pockets' formerly administered by three different proprietors (in a clockwise direction they are; Sound, Westoun, Waltnesstoun, Weiland, West-Hollandstoun, East-Hollandstoun, Sandstoun and Elwick), construct reliable all-weather roads, reclaim the old Commonly and initiate the necessary field rotations, while allowing his tenantry to feed themselves throughout these disruptive years. It was a set of initiatives which had perplexed his father, and his contemporaries, for estate accounts illustrate that road building, even when statutory labour was used, was very expensive. In 1831 the new road from

---

<sup>34</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 173.

Ostoft farm to Upper Styre, a distance of 750 yards, had cost £26/ 8/- at 2/- per fathom.<sup>35</sup>

The first Turnpike Act was still in the future and the vexing problem posed by the imminent squaring of the old Commonty lands could not be delayed. The Trenabie Estate had eschewed a cost of £66 per mile on its Sanday property in the previous decade as the estate factor had been unable to attract tenants to any area adjacent to Commonty land. It was, he said, 'too far from the nearest habitation', and too expensive, therefore, to connect to Kettletoft (Sanday's deep-water harbour).<sup>36</sup> In 1846, therefore, the new laird could not afford similar delays. The division of Shapinsay's Commonties had been finally sanctioned by the Court of Session in 1844 after considerable expense by the Trenabie Estate which included a higher selling price of the Crown property (£7,150) due to the potential articulated by Barlas in his comprehensive Report of July 1845.<sup>37</sup> The consequences of poor administration had created a knock-on effect through inadequate investment in building, stocking and cultivation which left the Crown (and many non-progressive Heritors) ill prepared for cyclical poor weather and the resulting harvests. Rent arrears in this period were approaching 15 per cent of gross income and recovery costs often added up to another 15 per cent. The Strang tenancy on Sanday (Crown

<sup>35</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/81. Letter of 16 January 1831 from Wm. Watt, Kirkwall to W. Balfour details the construction of this short 'kelp' road. As this was work carried out without statute labour the cost rose from 6d to 2/- per fathom. The land to the west of Cliffdale was sloping and therefore the construction of a road was postponed.

<sup>36</sup> Acts of Parliament, 51<sup>st</sup> Victoria, 1857, Orkney Roads Act and O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/42 and D2/81 (letters of 16 January 1831 and 28 June 1831 from W. Watt, Kirkwall to Wm. Balfour). The half-yearly rent for Sanday was £457/ 11/8 in that year (D2/122 rent Book and Valuation Ledger).

<sup>37</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Report of 12 July 1845 by J. Barlas to Crown Commission for Woods, Forests and Rivers. In his estimations of fair rents Barlas comments, 'any tenant would remunerate himself for his outlay or improvements and make a comfortable living (the Crown paying the Ministers stipend and the Schoolmasters Salary)'. Scottish Record Society (ed. I.H. Adams), Directory of Former Scottish Commonties, series 2, Judgement by J.A. Maconochie, Sheriff-Depute of Orkney.



Estate) is a typical example with 1,400 acres yielding only 240 acres arable and a multitude of small tenants producing an annual 100 tons of kelp.<sup>38</sup>

Shirreff's comment on the Orcadian farmer, 'a sagacious people...are capable of appreciating the value of improved husbandry, perceiving the aptitude of their farms for it, and probably, more disposed to adopt it than the small farmers in inland districts in any part of Great Britain'<sup>39</sup>, could not be applied, accurately, to Shapinsay in 1846. The natural objections of 'peerie' tenants, 65% of all farmers on Shapinsay, to the division of the Commonty was similar to those voiced by Holm's tenancy a decade earlier. Every patch of land that had been won from the peaty moorland was highly valued, not only as a testament to back-breaking toil, but as a further source of income. Although odal law no longer applied to these holdings (skat was not paid on quoyos or inbreaks from previously uncultivated land) 'peeries' had been given tacit (but not written) approval by their Heritors to reclaim the surrounding scrub and bog. On Shapinsay little or no addition had been made to their rents and many preferred the *status-quo* of previous regimes. A population hardened to the vagaries of nature and the inconsistencies of absent landlords (in the case of Crown and Laing tenants on Shapinsay) had little appetite for an ever-present laird with radical plans. Every 'pocket' on Shapinsay supported a number of middle-range farms of 60-100 acres with varying ratios of arable to pasture from 1:2 to 1:8 which in turn reflected the quality and topography of their location. The remaining 'peeries' or 'twa-beeld' farmer/fishermen, subsisted on shoreline holdings of between 1-30 acres with ratios of 1:4.<sup>40</sup> Little Feaston and Purtaquoy are examples of such small farms, surveyed by

---

<sup>38</sup> Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 4, 14, 25-6.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> N.A.S., RHP 2891-7. These annotated charts cannot be reproduced due to poor state of repair.

G.R. Sutherland, which were respectively 0.18 and 10 acres. Each relied on fishing as their acreage was insufficient to feed a family. By 1846 they were still recovering from the wet summers of 1832-6 and non-payment of rent had become a repetitive entry in estate account books.<sup>41</sup> The larger farms had survived without fishing in good harvest years but the inflexible demands of those under the Superiority of the Crown, for fixed weights of cereals, had also brought them into the debtors' book.

Returning, briefly, to John Shirreff's Report it is obvious that a climate of change had been travelling slowly northwards since the innovative years of Lord Kames and Grant of Monymusk and had made itself at home in the communities of Caithness.<sup>42</sup> Graemeshall had made a promising start, along with the Honyman Estate at Orphir, but little else had disturbed the farming and fishing calendar between the publications of the First Statistical Account and its 1845 successor in which the Kirk incumbent, the Rev. John Barry, had said of his Shapinsay parish: 'Towards the middle, the hand of industry has never disturbed its repose since the Creation, it exhibits the appearance of a barren waste, fit only for sheep pasture.'<sup>43</sup> David Balfour, however, was determined to control every aspect of Shapinsay's economic and social life and certainly had no intention of converting its central 'barren waste' into a sheep walk. Unlike his southern neighbour at Graemeshall, he

---

<sup>41</sup> O.A., D2/34/D/4/2. Crown factors rent book entries are appended to the Barlas Report.

<sup>42</sup> Lord Kames, *The Gentleman Farmer*, (Edinburgh, 1776). Although Kames spent a large part of his wife's dowry on the improvement of Blair Drummond, it traded at a loss. However, his innovative methods were followed by countless, successful, landowners in the Lothians. T.C.Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1998), p. 274-6. Archibald Grant of Monymusk improved his Don-side estate with new leases and a five-year rotation system. Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours 1747-99*, pp. 140-1. James Traill of Castletown, Caithness, was an intimate of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster and an early inspiration for Orkney improvers. He provided a reference for Magnus Calder's promotion to the Trenabie factorship.

<sup>43</sup> William Honyman (1756-1825), Lord Armadale, made significant improvements to his lands at Stenness and Orphir before promoting the divisions of Orkney Commonities. The Graemeshall Estate could never generate enough income to support the extravagant claims of its owner Alexander Sutherland-Graeme. N.S.A., vol. XX- Orkney.

had good contacts with the Department of Agriculture and excellent information on forthcoming Government legislation from his uncle, Thomas Balfour MP. New legislation was to be the springboard for the complete transformation of Shapinsay.<sup>44</sup>

One of these Bills was the Land Drainage (Scotland) Act of 1846 which apportioned £20,000 to Orkney and Shetland in land-improvement grants. David Balfour's connections secured him the lion's share of that money, £6,000, all of it to be expended on Shapinsay's 7,300 acres (the tidal island of Helliar Holm was not included and its 130 acres were left as rough grazing and the devices of the Northern Lighthouse Board who had just erected a lighthouse and pier at Saeva Ness).<sup>45</sup> Balfour's plans for the draining and ditching of Shapinsay was not followed by all the recipients of these grants. A similar sum was given to the Argyll administration for the Inner Hebridean islands of Coll, Iona and Tiree where the Duke's agents intended to build crofts on sites close to the machair and other pasture on these islands.<sup>46</sup> In common with Argyll, David Balfour wished to avoid the scourge of emigration with the added incentive that his 'surge of energy' would need every available adult to complete a programme of ten years duration. They were to be swept along on a high tide of improvement, constantly monitored by Marcus Calder, where no concession was to be given to past agricultural practice or tradition.<sup>47</sup>

Backed by his great-uncle's 'Indian' money and six-monthly cheques from the U.K.

<sup>44</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/3/7 and D2/15/7-8. Letters to the Dept. of Agriculture, London, and to Thomas Balfour MP, House of Commons.

<sup>45</sup> AP., Land Drainage Act (Scotland), 83<sup>rd</sup> Victoria, 1846. O. A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7 contains a series of letters to the Northern Lighthouse Board, Edinburgh, on the features of the local coastline, the quarrying of suitable sandstone and the 'uncouth' behaviour of the Board's 'navvies'.

<sup>46</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 23 October 1847 from Committee of the Highlands Destitution Fund to D. Balfour. A printed report on the Lewis improvements of Sir James Matheson (dated August 1847) is included together with comments on Argyll's intentions towards his tenants in the Inner Hebrides. T.M.Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 233-241.

<sup>47</sup> Marcus Calder was the son of George Calder of Scotsclader, Caithness (an 'improving' farmer) and brother of the historian John Calder author of *History of Caithness*, (Edinburgh, 1861).

exchequer (administered by his law partners in Edinburgh, Smith & Kinnear W.S. – later Balfour Manson W.S.) David Balfour was able to begin his momentous task from day one of his proprietorship. This time-scale of ten years was not arrived at by arbitrary means. The drainage grants were most effectively utilised by sinking them all in one estate or one island. In this way a property could be improved, disentailed and, possibly, consolidated with neighbouring land. Smith & Kinnear advised Balfour that the alternative strategy, to borrow at 6.5 per cent, would not recoup its investment within a twenty-year period, ‘even from enormous rentals.’<sup>48</sup>

Well-thumbed volumes of scientific, agricultural and commercial theory bear the pencilled notes of their reader and are still locked in their glass-fronted cases in the Balfour Castle Library. Whether by Coventry, Leibnitz, Kames or Townshend, they had vied with the works of Samuel Smiles for the attention which had been denied the pristine ranks of Scott, Thackery or the *Edinburgh Review*.<sup>49</sup> Subsequent correspondence with the Highland Agricultural Society of Scotland underlines Balfour’s progress on Shapinsay, his successful application of improvement theory and his reasoning for the hectic pace of change. A letter from the secretary of the Highland Agricultural Society says, ‘the account you give of Shapinsay is most satisfactory...I know of no one whose flair for agricultural improvement is wider

---

<sup>48</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 19 January 1847 from David Kinnear to D. Balfour. The consolidation of agricultural land could only be achieved if this land yielded uninterrupted surpluses of cereal and beef, after its improvement.

<sup>49</sup> Appendix M, attached, List of nineteenth-century publications in Balfour Castle Library examined by Douglas Barker on 24 September 1997. Andrew Coventry was the first Professor of Agriculture at the University of Edinburgh who had lectured on the drainage of the lands at the source of the River Leven (which he had supervised) during David Balfour’s student years. Carl Leibnitz’s *Chemistry* was one of the most widely consulted nineteenth-century tomes on the practical application of neutralizers in soil. Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount, Townshend of Rainham was a leading eighteenth-century authority on rotation farming and especially the use of turnips, hence his nickname ‘Turnip Townshend’. There were frequent reprints of his rotation theories.



than yours, or who is doing more with it.'<sup>50</sup> Beef and cereal prices had overcome the crisis of the previous decade and were showing healthy profits in southern markets for any proprietor, or tenant, who could improve their productivity and quality. Steam navigation, however, was still in its infancy and there was no railway network in the north of Scotland. Much of the Trenabie Estate's impatience with local opposition or complacency at this time stems from an anxiety to 'strike when the iron is hot' and a general mistrust of government ministries charged with transport legislation.<sup>51</sup>

### **The theory behind the 'squaring' of Shapinsay.**

The six-year rotation system that had proved so successful in Lowland Scotland, Angus, Aberdeenshire and latterly in Caithness, depended on the early development of red clover and fescues and large crops of turnip. The former produced high quality fodder and the latter a staple food supply for over-wintering cattle and sheep. In introducing these 'green' crops at the first stage of the rotation system it was first necessary to clear all existing stock from the new grass and leave the turnip drills free of rooting animals. This in turn put great pressure on the smaller farmers during the first five years of the 'squaring'.<sup>52</sup> To facilitate a six-year rotation system the farmer required at least four large, well-drained, fields each capable of nurturing one

---

<sup>50</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/8, letter of 11 April 1853 from Maxwell, Highland Agricultural Society of Scotland to D. Balfour. The remainder of the letter details the need for southern markets and the possibility of signing contracts with urban businessmen.

<sup>51</sup> The first regular steamer service to Orkney was provided in 1836 (Summer only) by the *Sovereign*, a paddle steamer. The Highland Railway did not reach Thurso until 1874 and was not extended to the port of Scrabster.

<sup>52</sup> 'Green' crops are basically those which produce a profusion of green foliage and are high in carbohydrates. 'Squaring' is the generic term for the introduction of an agricultural grid system.

crop per season. If these fields were grouped together round a farmhouse and its outbuildings, then working conditions could be eased and time-consuming journeys to scattered rigs or sheads could be eliminated. An area of ten acres was chosen for every field with three-foot deep drains running the length of every perimeter. The drains were excavated by deep ploughing, augmented by hand-ditching. They were narrow with clay tiles laid up their length. All the field drains were connected to a series of deeper, open, main-drains that emptied onto the shore. The fields were square (increasing the compactness of the new farms) and after the grid had been marked across the whole island (fig.1), each field was ploughed, de-stoned and limed.

The reason for insisting on ten-acre square fields was two-fold. Firstly, each field rotation system had to be capable of producing an adequate crop for the coming Winter or graze a large enough number of live-stock. Secondly, if the improved Ransome plough was to be fully operational using two-horse teams, it was judged that square, ten acre fields would reduce the time required for ploughing and turning to a maximum of one day per field.<sup>53</sup> With flax already outlawed because of its deleterious effects on soils, the rotation was set at turnips or fallow; oats; peas or beans; barley; clover; oats. The improved breeds of cattle were initially introduced through the estate home farm, Balfour Mains, and a Norwegian bull was made available (free of charge) by the estate for all farmers on Shapinsay. The native sheep were 'extirpated' and all animals that had hitherto grazed on the Commonty were

---

<sup>53</sup> D. J. Smith, *Discovering Horse Drawn Farm Machinery*, p.7. The Ransome plough was patented by Robert Ransome in 1803. It was especially effective in dealing with deeper furrows and preferred on Shapinsay to Small's swing plough which did not possess the same durability.

slaughtered and salted.<sup>54</sup> Second stage rotations were planned to include one extra year of grass. This was a far cry from the widely held Orcadian belief that once a field had been sown with grass, it should never be returned to any other form of agriculture or the equally antiquated belief that live-stock should never be slaughtered when the moon was in wane.

The pace of the proposed changes on Shapinsay also required a core of employees to whom various areas of work could be delegated. Marcus Calder had been chosen on the recommendation of James Traill and Sir George Dunbar of Castletown, Caithness. He was followed by George Frisken from Chirnside, Berwickshire who was recruited as an experienced grieve, and various lower grades of ditchers and quarrymen. Frisken, in turn, brought with him the steady talents of his father (George snr.) and brother Adam to manage the expanded showcase farm of Waltness. William Jolly from Stonehaven, James Fullerton from Arbroath, Alexander McKenzie from Bower and Sinclair McAdie from Monymail were added for their experience in ditching and fencing. Calder's ability to interpret his employer's preferences were not underemployed in the 'surge of energy' years. In a letter to Eleanor Balfour (the laird was absent in Italy) he boasted his credentials thus, 'I have broad shoulders and can stand lots of nonsense...for they are a funny sort of folks...very quick but very cunning. However, I too have got a touch of India rubber temper...so we get on wonderfully.'<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 8 February 1848 to Dr. Omand, Lewis. This is a long, eight-page, letter explaining the complete operation on Shapinsay including the 'extirpation of the native sheep'.

<sup>55</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter from M. Calder to E. Balfour, 28 June 1847.

All of the new recruits, mentioned above, were young, married with families (except Calder), and experienced in the agricultural techniques of the more advanced regions of Scotland. Relationships between landlord and tenant, however, had been established on a different, more formal, basis that dated from David Balfour's days as 'Younger of Trenabie'. Marcus Calder's efforts apart, the 'smouldering resentment' identified by Thomson and evident among the tenantry at the Holm Estate, was a problem for aspirant improvers.<sup>56</sup> This potential for disruption was mitigated, however, on Shapinsay by several factors. In the first place, these 'sma' men were regarded within Orkney as belonging to the cream of its farming population who had for centuries resisted wind, water and cyclical famine through their own perseverance and adaptability. Secondly, these 'good' farmers were multi-skilled in a society bereft of technical innovation and crucial raw materials. The manner of transport alone required the skills of farrier, sailmaker, boatbuilder and carpenter. Ancillary crafts such as ropemaking (simmens), basketmaking (cubbies), or wheelmaking (shods) were all practised in tounmals where this adaptability, and necessity, had overcome the lack of many basic materials (most notably timber).<sup>57</sup> Calder's task, therefore, was not only to smooth the transition from subsistence to commercial farming but to cajole, threaten and sympathise with a tenantry which had a deep-seated antipathy to specialisation and 'new-fangled' ideas.<sup>58</sup> The reverse side of the coin of improvement was the very same status and attitude of the small tenantry who regarded their community as a perpetually stable unit able to resist the

---

<sup>56</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 380. Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall, 1827-1888*, pp. 73-76.

<sup>57</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 246-253; 261-269; 322-330.

<sup>58</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 28 June 1847 from M. Calder to E. Balfour.



siren calls of export markets for the culture of the familiar. Although well aware of the shortcomings of some of their activities like the late sowing of corn-seed or the ‘bigging’ of seaweed (literally building a compost heap of rotting seaweed) in the runrig system, they had survived two generations since the last serious food shortages. Whether through ‘twa-beeld’ tenancy or a diversity of proto-industrial activity, they had advanced demographically and materially in this period and were suspicious of Balfour’s ambitions and his new, non-dissenting (members of the Church of Scotland), specialist farmers.

This tenant uncertainty seemed to be justified when writs of termination began to be delivered on Shapinsay, at Martinmas 1846, for the removal of forty-seven farmers within one calendar year.<sup>59</sup> The majority of these summons concerned the area closest to the home-farm of Balfour Mains which was about to be extended to a 700 acre block of land which stretched up the island’s western shoreline as far as the Bay of Furrowend and was bounded to the east by the precipitous banks of the Mill Dam. The re-housing of the inhabitants of nineteen small-holdings, which were subsequently demolished, and the temporary accommodation of thirty-two families who accepted new leases in the period up to Martinmas 1851, had to be balanced against the need to continue (for another four seasons) traditional fishing and farming.<sup>60</sup> With the exception of the Balfour establishment at Cliffdale House, these upheavals affected a total of 900 inhabitants. Contemporary accounts of these transitional years, whether from the newly founded *Orcadian* newspaper (1854) or

---

<sup>59</sup> O.A., SC/11/15, Kirkwall Sheriff Court Records, Summons of Eviction for 1847 for the island of Shapinsay.

<sup>60</sup> Appendix J, Movement of Tenant farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay. Although many of the displaced families in this survey were re-housed in newly reclaimed farmland, they retained their multiple occupations for another decade.

the Balfour Family Papers, are couched in optimistic language and downplays tenant apprehension.<sup>61</sup> Those in possession of the older, bigger, farms mentioned above (page 18), were not moved but were expected to commence rebuilding almost immediately to conform with their new, three part, performance leases.<sup>62</sup>

The Grainger and Miller maps of 1831, the Thomas map of 1840 and the Ordnance Survey chart of 1846, had already been utilised in the tracing of a skeleton plan for the 'new' Shapinsay with a grid system of ten acre fields for ninety rebuilt farms and thirty acre units for Balfour Mains home farm.<sup>63</sup> The logistics of Balfour's first phase planning were daunting and it was inevitable that outside labour would be required for the unfamiliar tasks of deep drain ploughing and the laying of 50 tons of tiles delivered by the Portobello Tile Company to Calder and his contractor McKenzie.<sup>64</sup> In fact, during the first four years of the squaring, only thirteen families immigrated to Shapinsay (including the unfortunate McKenzie from Lochinver) and many of the displaced residents of Soundstoun were employed in the massive building works of Balfour Castle. The total cost (£6,700) of this archetypal Scottish

---

<sup>61</sup> *The Orcadian*, the decade 1854-64 carried a weekly newspaper for every major island. These anonymous contributions were written by Marcus Calder or David Balfour. O.A., Balfour papers, D2/15/7, letter of 29 January 1847 from M. Calder to E. Balfour, 'Sound is beginning to look like a farm since all the patches of arable land pasture occupied by the small tenants have been ploughed.' This box of the Balfour Papers maps out the progress of the squaring, the building of Balfour Castle and the slow transition to 'green' crops. References to tenant difficulties usually employ rather patronising language i.e. 'my people are beginning to' or 'they are beginning to see the benefit'.

<sup>62</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122. A facsimile of a three part, performance lease is included in Appendix O. These leases are called 'performance' due to the rent increases, based on expectations of higher productivity, being compartmented in three distinct periods. This type of lease usually ran for nine, twelve, fifteen or even twenty-one years.

<sup>63</sup> Grainger and Miller, (1831), Plan of the Commonty of Shapinsay, O.A., public display; Admiralty Survey of Orkney and Shetland, O.A., D/12/1, maps of Captain F. W. L. Thomas RN FSA (1830-50) and D1/198, The Island of Shapinsay (1846) Ordnance Survey.

<sup>64</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 29 January 1847 from M. Calder to D. Balfour detailing the progress of draining and squaring on Shapinsay. McKenzie, a member of the Free Church of Scotland, was the butt of a number of crude jokes by Calder. In this letter Calder unsympathetically informs Balfour that McKenzie has lost an eye from a flying stone-chip, 'however, he's a Free kirk man...and the fellar's always had a great deal of tongue.'

Baronial edifice, designed and built by David Bryce, was supported by this local labour which considerably reduced the cost of wages and speeded up the construction time. Perusal of the National Census returns for 1841 and 1851 shows a remarkable number of families supported by artisan or labouring occupations and a steep rise in families living from farming alone.<sup>65</sup>

Many of the displaced families used this transformation as an opportunity to earn money wages and become a cog in David Balfour's intended wheel of commerce. Orkney's deficiency in internal markets had been a particular concern of his since he had become aware of the Shirreff Report. Although it was conceivable that future harvests would vary in their yields, the annual production of perishables and fowl was extremely reliable. Cheese, eggs, butter and poultry could offer a considerable surplus and an incentive to small-holders. The establishment of two roadside groceries (one in the newly renamed Balfour Village and the other on the recently constructed spinal road at Astley Cottage) was his solution. The eighteenth century village now had its own vegetable allotments, neatly arranged and fenced, across the harbour road from every cottage door (there were now twenty-five cottages) with the buildings themselves providing shelter from the prevailing westerlies (fig. 6).

---

<sup>65</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay 1841-1881 (see the National Census, Orkney- Sheet 28); Graph A-Occupational Graph of Shapinsay and Graph B- Population Graph of Shapinsay (Appendix F).

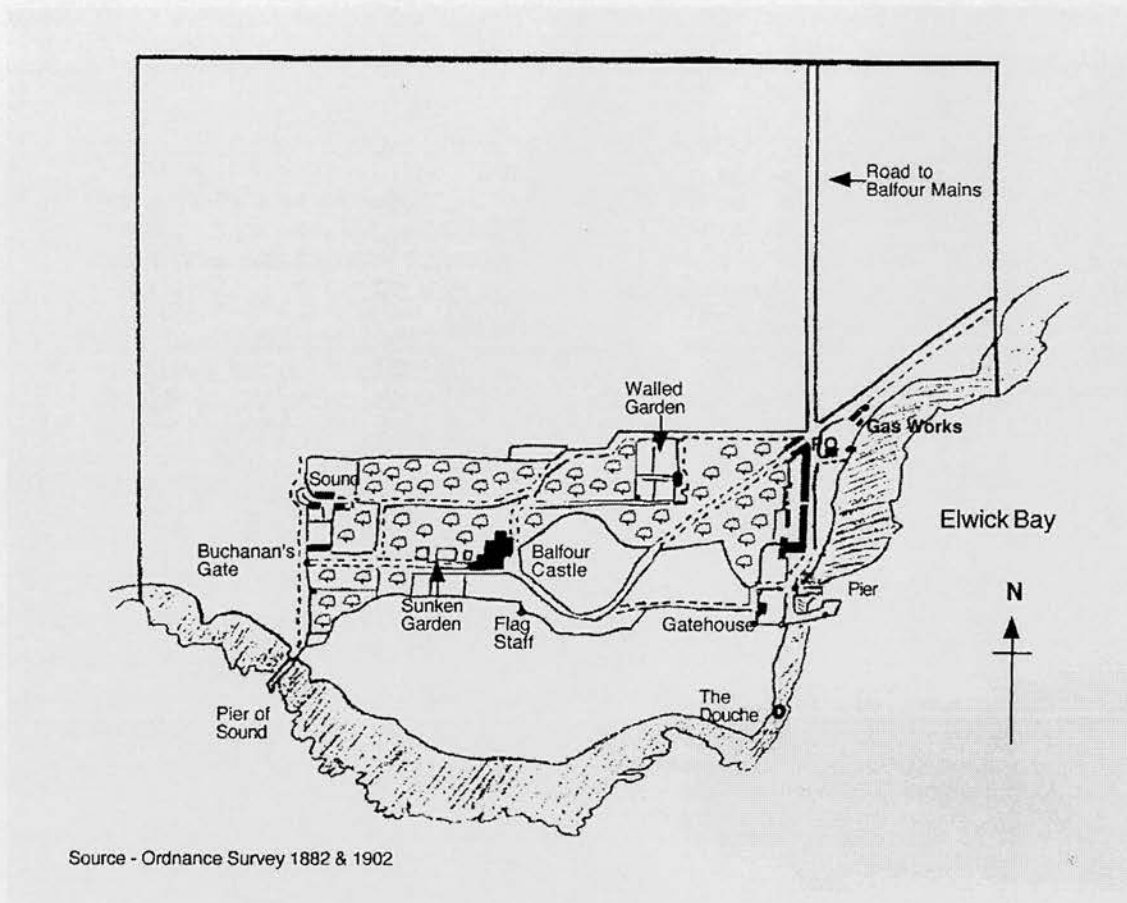


Fig. 6 Sketch plan of Balfour Village

Graphs A and D (Appendix F) clearly show the rise of the wage earning sector and the steep decline in farm employment for the same period. The welcome introduction of island shops, however, did not amount to a revolution in Shapinsay's economy and the wages earned from construction projects was only a transitional step in its internal development. Regular wages, and higher rents, could not be earned until the full rotation system was fully operational, improved stock had been introduced and a communication network established between the island, Kirkwall and the outside world. For this reason, many of the smallest coastal farms were left undisturbed for



anything up to a decade after the first deep drains were cut and laid. Capital had been made available for all the stages of the planned transformation but runrig, open-boat line fishing and peat cutting had to co-exist with the gaping drainage channels and the clouds of lime and peat dust blowing over the old Commonty land. Local objections, many an uprooted tenant would have preferred a hearing in the old Barony Court, were simply headed off by Magnus Calder. Formal, written, complaints were handled by David Balfour in a polite but brusque manner. The following extract is from a reply to James Reid, tenant of Monquhanny farm, and is not untypical, 'You are no longer in difficulty, can afford your rent...and as I get more from Mr. Dennison's part of the farm (Ness) than you paid for the whole...you must pay up.'<sup>66</sup>

In summary, it is apparent that the complete transformation of Shapinsay had been planned well in advance of David Balfour's accession in 1846. He had absorbed the theories of improved farming from contemporary literature and mingled in the society of its adherents at the University of Edinburgh. On his return to Orkney in 1835 he had busied himself with his father's estate without neglecting the political, academic or legal connections he had patiently acquired in the South. His association with the Tory party under Robert Peel paid dividends when the Drainage Act grants were dolled out for Scotland. However, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 did not find his (Balfour's) favour.<sup>67</sup> The complacency of previous Trenabie Estate

---

<sup>66</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 4 May 1852 from D. Balfour to James Reid, Monquhanny farm.

<sup>67</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/1/9, letter of 13 February 1837 from D. Balfour, Edinburgh to Wm. Balfour, Cliffdale House, Shapinsay. David Balfour informs his father, 'I have been invited to chair a meeting of welcome to Sir Robert Peel before 500 invited guests at the University of Glasgow.' O.A., D2/36/17, letter of 28 May 1846 from Smith & Kinnear W.S., Edinburgh, to D. Balfour. Balfour's legal representatives are seeking a parliamentary 'protectionist candidate' to oppose the imminent Repeal of the Corn Laws. They advise David Balfour, even allowing for his opposition to repeal, not

administrations was a concern in the face of the collapsed proto-industries of the post-Napoleonic period and it was obvious to both Heritor and tenant that radical change would be required to prevent permanent stagnation and mass emigration among a fast-growing population subsisting in small, crowded coastal land 'pockets'. Although heedful of advice from his legal advisers in Edinburgh, he refused to amend his original plans for his straggling inheritance and calculated that a large investment on one project (and on one island) would pay a handsome dividend. Consolidation and excambion would, in his view, be insufficient without the injection of additional funds and the co-operation of the tenantry. In this environment the 'carrot and stick' policy, adroitly engineered by his factor Marcus Calder, was adopted for a reluctant tenantry.

### **The problems posed to the Trenabie Estate by Voluntarist factions.**

The ordinary inhabitant of Shapinsay had little recourse to any official support in disputes with their laird. Although the community had two churches by 1847, the Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (formerly the Secession Church), these institutions could not realise their full potential for moral or political support. Orcadians have rarely taken to religious movements with great enthusiasm. Material and political controversies, whether introduced by clerical or secular authorities, were another matter. Thomson's comment, 'There is a distinct impression that for many people religion was a secondary issue – it was church land

---

to accept as Shetland (part of the parliamentary constituency) would not approve of imported grain (prices) in the event of future scarcity.

rather than faith which caused passions to run high', appears to be an apt summary of their opinions.<sup>68</sup>

A relative 'newcomer' to Shapinsay, the Secession Church's growth had been stimulated by anti-burgher sentiment among the North Isles emigrants from Thomas Balfour's first days at Sound. Although claiming the high spiritual and moral ground over the older Kirk congregation, they were clearly motivated by Voluntarist principles and the resentment of Erastian practice. Granted a feu by Laing of Strynzie in 1830, they had constructed their church on the border between Laing and Balfour property at Brecks (in the Spring of 1832). A typical dispute of this time is illustrated by a letter sent to David Balfour by the Rev. T. G. Salmon from Lerwick, Shetland. The essence of the Rev. Salmon's complaint is that the Shapinsay Kirk Session is refusing to register births, deaths and marriages of dissenting families, 'if you would consent to act as magistrate, the establishment of a church register for those of the Secession congregation would be possible.'<sup>69</sup> Graph C (fig.7, below) further underlines the sharp disaffection of many with the established Kirk. The same source, however, also points to a majority of fishing, artisan or 'peedie' farming families in the dissenting Church.

---

<sup>68</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 247.

<sup>69</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 11 September 1853.

Graph C - Religious affiliation graph for Shapinsay

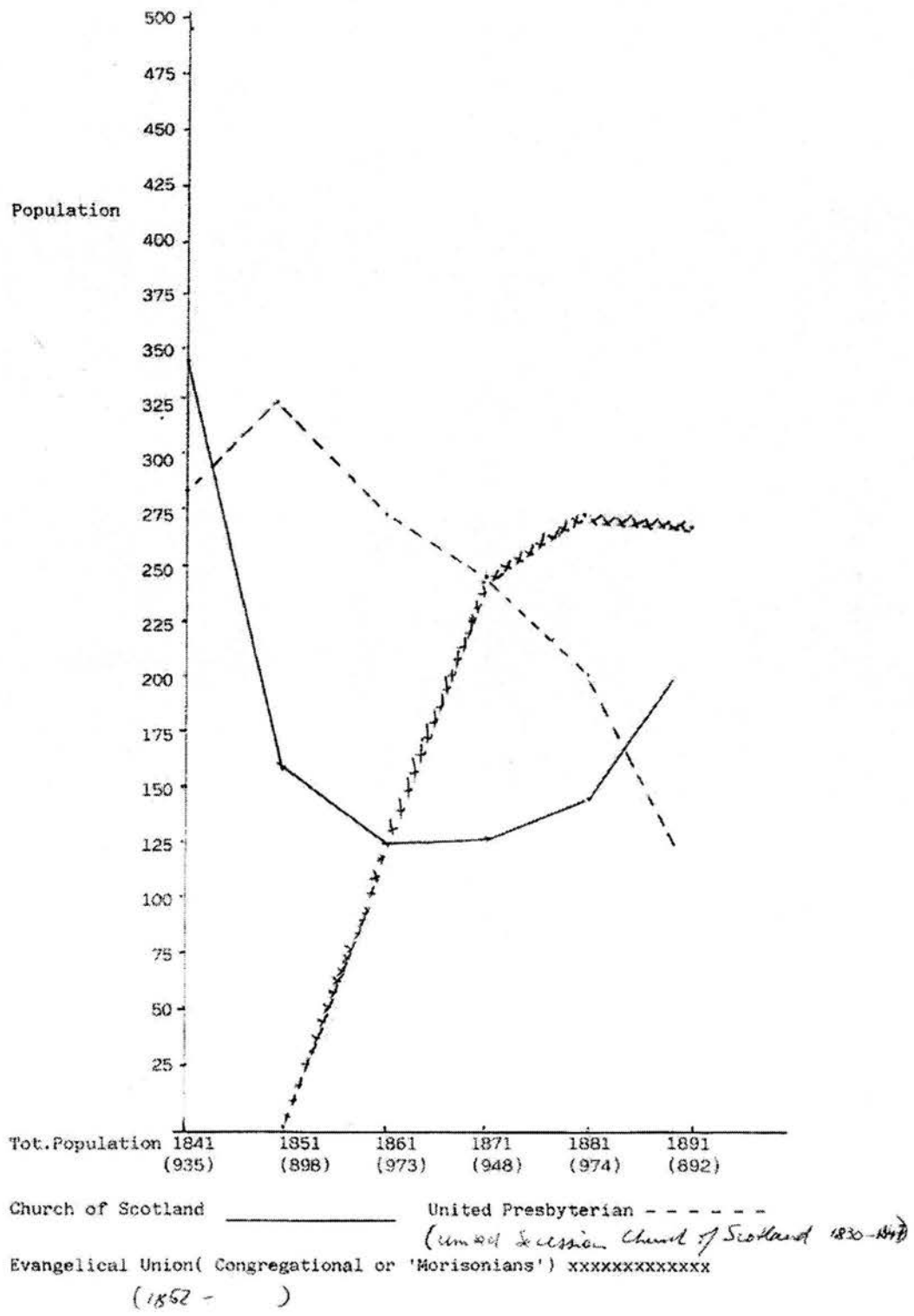


Fig.7 Religious affiliation on Shapinsay.



Furthermore, their Voluntarist spleen was rarely directed by the congregation at their laird but at his choice as minister. This disaffection had been extreme enough, in the time of William Balfour and prior to the building of their Shapinsay church, to force a substantial number of their brethren to undertake a weekly boat trip across the String to Wark and then on foot to the Secession Church in Kirkwall.<sup>70</sup> Although a minority of the Shapinsay population, they shared grievances with the majority of churchgoers (approximately 85% of the adult population) and were unanimous in their disregard for the Kirk incumbent, the unfortunate Rev. John Barry. The academic and intellectual talents of John Barry were never in doubt when he succeeded his father George to the Shapinsay ministry in 1805. A poet and essayist, he rejected the growing evangelical trends in the established church in favour of the moderate stance that was fashionable with many of his Lowland colleagues. His contribution to the N.S.A. mirrored those of his eminent father for the O.S.A. but progressive, and long-term, mental illness made the last ten years of his ministry a travesty.<sup>71</sup> When Thomas Scott succeeded Barry in 1846 the Kirk congregation could

---

<sup>70</sup>The String is the recipient of a six-knot tide on its way from the Atlantic Ocean to the North Sea via the Eynhallow Sound and the Wide Firth. The crossing to Carness at Wark is only two miles wide but a one-masted yole could experience considerable stability problems when overfull (sometimes the Sunday church-trip carried sixteen passengers). A large number of the congregation at Kirkwall's East Kirk, the Secession Church, were from the growing class of small traders or artisans in the parish of St.Ola who were not reticent with their Voluntarist ideology. J.Paterson, *Memoir of Robert Paterson D.D.*, (Edinburgh, 1874), outlines the ideological opposition mounted by the United Presbyterian Church (formerly the Secession Church) to the Heritor dominated Town Council, Harbour Board and Kirk Session of the Church of Scotland. Robert Paterson, known by his detractors as the 'Presbyterian Pope', built and supervised the 1,500 capacity 'Paterson Kirk' and attempted to influence a wide range of local decision making from rentals to the development of trade.

<sup>71</sup>O.S.A., vol. XIX, Orkney (1798) and N.S.A., vol. XV (1845). George Barry's contributions to the O.S.A. were in effect a rehearsal for his *History of the Orkney Islands*. His frequent absences from Shapinsay seem to have been tolerated by the islands heritors, an attitude not shared by his parishioners. By the time of his son's ordination the kirk, manse and glebe were in poor repair and religious observance was at a low point. John Barry shared his father's love of literature and antiquarian research and was equally lax in his ecclesiastical duties. William Balfour, Samuel Laing and the Crown agents adopted a complaisant stance but when David Balfour bought out the other Heritors, he dealt summarily with all of Shapinsay's congregations when they attempted to influence any element of island life outside the narrow confines of divine worship. John Barry was finally

support only one elder, the farmer John Dennison of Wieland (soon to move to the larger improved farm of Ness), a teacherless school and a dilapidated manse. Throughout his ministry Barry had been the butt of dissenting opinion, vituperative abuse and disdainful comment. His removal to a mental institution in Edinburgh did not immediately halt the decline in Kirk membership nor did it deter the Secession adherents from voicing their opposition to Balfour's plans.

David Balfour had faced confrontational problems with the Secession Church on other islands in Orkney. In the first year of his stewardship for his ailing father he had faced down attempts to build an access road to their church across his Westray property. After his full inheritance of the Trenabie Estate he had refused a feu to a congregation on Mainland Orkney when their minister and elders refused to disclaim Voluntarist principles in the proposed feu charter.<sup>72</sup> This mistrust of dissenting influence was also evident in the selection of the new Estate employees, vetted by Smith & Kinnear from Edinburgh. When James McRobbie applied for the post of superintending joiner and carpenter, Kinnear wrote to Balfour that the applicant had the right qualifications, 'and of good address and appearance and an established churchman'.<sup>73</sup> William Balfour had been content for many years to accept deference, collect his rents and stick to his Erastian principles but even he was forced to sign the

---

replaced by Thomas Scott in 1846 after his (Barry's) incarceration in Edinburgh's Gogarburn Mental Hospital. In truth the moderate stance of the Church of Scotland would have taxed the abilities of any incumbent, especially after the success of the Haldane brothers in their triumphant tour of Orkney in September 1792.

<sup>72</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letters of 16 January 1845, 2 February 1845 and 13 March 1845 to the Rev. George Reid, United Presbyterian minister at Noltland, Westray. A 'priest-gate' or kirk-path was blocked by a march dyke in June 1853 in response to protestations by Reid and his congregation in 1845 and subsequent years. A letter of 26 July 1847 from Magnus Calder to Eleanor Balfour describes the Voluntarists as 'these vile men who would like nothing better than get their laird involved in a controversy with them.'

<sup>73</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 7 October 1847 from David Kinnear to D. Balfour. A reference was eventually provided by Dr. James Mitchell the future feuer of Glaitness where he built Glaitness House and Home Farm in 1857.

1841 petition to the Earl of Zetland for an immediate successor to the Rev. John Barry. The petition has ninety-one signatures, the total adult Kirk congregation of that time, and states:

owing to the lamented privation with which it has pleased God to afflict the respected Minister of Shapinsay, and the age or other infirmities of a large majority of the other Members of the North Isles Presbytery, your petitioners have, for nearly a year and a half, been deprived of the preaching of the Gospel, except at long and irregular intervals.<sup>74</sup>

No doubt he too was troubled by the decline in attendances and the poor state of the Kirk's fabric on Shapinsay. One of the notable sights of a Shapinsay Sabbath was the procession of islanders promenading past the Kirk in all their finery on their way to its dissenting rival, a sure sign of the passive resistance which was so typical of Orkney at this time. The 'rural radicalism' of the Free Church of Scotland did not, however, take root in Shapinsay. This was probably due to the Secession's early success in detaching 60% of the Kirk's former membership, leaving at that stage (1843) little leeway for a late arrival.<sup>75</sup> Cocksure of its moral superiority and confident that it would be the future mediator in any tenant/Heritor dispute, the newly (1847) re-christened United Presbyterian Church ignored the unpopularity of its own disciplinary decisions and saw fit to address their laird as a social equal when he took exception to one particular decision.<sup>76</sup> The affair of 'the promiscuous dancing' will be examined in Chapter 3 and it will suffice to note that David

---

<sup>74</sup> O.A., D2/11/19. Petition to the Earl of Zetland contained in a letter of 15 May 1841 from William Balfour to Thomas Balfour MP.

<sup>75</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 410. A number of the artisans who had moved to Balfour Village from Kirkwall were members of the Secession Church who attracted so many of Thomson's 'urban radicals'.

<sup>76</sup> N.A.S., CE 55, Kirk Session Notebooks of the Secession Church and CH3/1099, Minutes of the Anti-Burgher Church, give graphic accounts of enquiry and discipline especially under article 4 (self-government) and article 7 (company keeping). John Russell and Magnus Williamson were two regular 'offenders' cited for 'vain and light company' and 'drunkenness and excess alcohol'. Russell and Williamson, soon to defect to the Congregationalists, usually reacted to censure by absenting themselves from divine service.



Balfour's stern rejection of United Presbyterian 'advice', and the subsequent defection of almost half of its congregation in the next five years, put an abrupt end to any lingering elements of Calvinism in Dissenting Orkney. The attractions of the anti-disciplinarian Morisonians were quickly acknowledged by laird and tenant (for different and obvious reasons).<sup>77</sup> A long lease and feu was granted by the former and the latter reacted in large numbers. Balfour, an Episcopalian who attended Kirk services, had little interest in theological dispute but was not blind to the possibilities of divide and rule amongst his tenantry.<sup>78</sup>

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, David Balfour had scarcely more sympathy for the representatives of the Church of Scotland. The Rev. John Barry had been unable to keep his manse, kirk and glebe in good order and his eventual replacement (Thomas Scott) surveyed his future income with a cautionary eye. The Shapinsay manse, with its fifty-four acre glebe, lay on the southern verge of the old East Hill Common and was now bordered by the traces of the new spinal road. Surrounded on all sides by the straightened dykes and black gaping drainage ditches, the glebe's crumbling turf walls, weed-infested ditches and seaware fertilised rigs, was a constant source of irritation to Balfour and his eager teams of ditchers and drainers. Although legally entitled to no more than four acres since 1690, the Kirk glebe played a vital role in supporting and feeding a minister's family. Together with the annual stipend of £150, the Shapinsay benefice was fairly typical for that area of Scotland. Custom and ancient practice had given the minister unlimited access to the

---

<sup>77</sup> The Morisonians, a splinter group of the anti-burghers, concentrated on a more evangelical approach to the gospel, preached personal salvation and rejected the stern discipline of the United Presbyterian Church.

<sup>78</sup> The Rev. Thomas Salmon (1852-59) was appointed as the first Congregational (Morisonian) minister of Shapinsay in 1852. The feu for the church at Chapelbrae was granted in February 1853, when building commenced. Building was finally completed in 1854.



nearest shoreline where he was able to cut seaweed for the faughing of his glebe. The new drainage lines for the farms of Howe, Hannatoft and Houseby cut across the traditional 'priests-gate' and were intended to provide a narrow access only to the kirk itself, through Howe farm. It has already been established that David Balfour disapproved of traditional subsistence farming. His inability to remove the glebe's irregular, ill-drained, fields led to a twelve year legal dispute with the Northern Presbytery of the Church of Scotland and the General Assembly in Edinburgh. At his own cost a series of plans were commissioned for the retracing of the glebe and the creation of eleven squared fields. If the Kirk, and the recalcitrant Rev. Scott, would agree to the integration of the glebe into the surrounding farmland and its rotation systems, a perpetual feu would be granted for the 'new' glebe. The Balfour Papers bulge with weekly correspondence over alleged nocturnal encroachments onto glebe land, the dumping of the minister's offending seaweed manure and counter claims of neglect and intransigence.<sup>79</sup> In 1850 the Rev.Scott complained to his superiors that Balfour has been 'violent, and illegal', 'encroached upon...and removed my ware'. On the 19 November 1861 all parties finally came to agreement over the Kirk glebe and the consolidation of all surrounding farms was swiftly completed. A minute of 9 April 1861 records the final (accepted) offer from David Balfour as follows:

Allow me to enclose for your consideration my tracing of the present marches of your Glebe, with dotted lines which I propose as the new boundaries...the straight lines will add to the amenity of the district, assist the drainage and diminish the cost of enclosure. While the Glebe is undeniably enhanced in compactness, quality and quantity, much of my

---

<sup>79</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letters of 2 December 1851, 31 December 1851, 8 March 1852 and D2/16/46, letters of 3 February 1855 and 22 January 1856. These letters complain of the Kirk's laxity in dealing with land reform measures. Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles, O.A., OCR 3/6, minutes of 20 June 1849, 26 March 1850 and (finally) 9 April 1861 catalogue the dispute between Balfour and the Rev. Scott. The former Glebe of Shapinsay was finally squared, drained and straightened in 1868 and granted a perpetual feu at 5/- per acre.

land being drained and subsoiled. A new survey of the island (is essential). I should be sorry for another year of crooked lines and confused fielding, especially as the present stage of cropping of several parcels of land is especially favourable for exchange without deranging the rotation of either party.<sup>80</sup>

The problems raised in the previous paragraph are, therefore, the probable cause of a re-think in estate policy. Subsequent maps (newly acquired by the Orkney Archive) show that a comprehensive second survey was carried out for the whole island with a further repositioning of the original grid system for the eastern half of the East Hill Common to include the future squaring of the Glebe and the incorporation of its fringe property into the farms of Hannatoft and Cotbrae.<sup>81</sup> The Kirk's resistance to pressure from the Trenabie Estate coincided with an upturn in its membership and a decline in attendance of the U.P. The Evangelical Union (collective term for the congregational communities) membership remained constant but lost the impetus it had developed during the 1850's.<sup>82</sup> This period also saw the repair of the Kirk's fabric and an increase in lay contributions to poor relief and missionary bodies. Although the session records of all three churches are silent on the matter, it is more than probable that the parishioners of Shapinsay voted with their feet in rejecting a church (the U.P.) which had failed to prevent the evictions of 1848, and turned once again to an institution better able to accommodate, and sometimes resist, paternalistic abuse. The very fact that the first ten years of Balfour's 'revolution' had resulted in so few of the evictions predicted by the dissenters, would seem to support the above assertion.

---

<sup>80</sup> O.A., OCR 3/6, Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles, minute of 9 April 1861.

<sup>81</sup> O.A., Map of Shapinsay, 1868, on loan from James Sinclair of Ha'quoy, Shapinsay, to the Orkney County Library, cannot be reproduced.

<sup>82</sup> Graph C (fig. 9 above). Religious Affiliation on Shapinsay.

The disputes between Heritor and tenant had drawn in, and complicated, relations with Shapinsay's religious institutions. The violence being done to the old Commonly had removed many physical barriers but not those between the old established religion and its more proscriptive rivals. The United Presbyterian Church had previously attracted many of Shapinsay's displaced and disillusioned who now found themselves in a closer community, Balfour Village, dependant on a wage economy and not considered for a tenancy on one of David Balfour's new enclosed farms. Initially attracted to the Secession Church by its stand on clerical appointments, baptism or the registration and burial of its flock, these small-holders had condoned Calvinistic discipline and revelled in its sense of community and social cohesiveness. The pressures of an uncertain future, and their laird's solution to its problems, produced the first cracks in their resolve.

### **The remaining uncertainties prior to transformation.**

Returning to the topic of population growth in previous decades it would be incorrect to assume that all of Shapinsay's 150 families had had no aspirations beyond those of subsistence or survival. Improvement in the piece-meal rotations of Thomas Balfour's time had given the larger farmers an introduction to better, more durable, strains of cereals. The planting of ever larger areas of potatoes had helped to ward off starvation in the 1780's and excambion and out-run had swelled the land available for cultivation.<sup>83</sup> Kelp money had, of course, helped to feed an expanding population

---

<sup>83</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*. The author is an eloquent advocate for the organic development of Orcadian agriculture and its social advantages against the upheavals caused by modern (19<sup>th</sup> century) commercial farming. Chapter 27, 'The Nineteenth Century Agricultural

and Shapinsay had escaped the worst of the ravages of 1832-5. The paradox of a community which stuck steadfastly to an existence that was dominated by the forces of nature and yet expected a more stable and prosperous future, is best explained by Orcadian attitudes to 'their' land. Although runrig cultivation was wasteful of good agricultural land and struggled to produce enough cereal and dairy acres for this growing population, it is worth repeating that it had been the islanders' standard of stability and security of tenure up to and including the beginning of our period. The Martinmas settlements of rent and tenure had rarely led to confrontation between laird and tenant in a society that revolved round mutual co-operation. Evidence of individual disagreement only serves to prove that 'cheek' or 'cunning' were employed when tenants felt that their dignity had been violated or insulted.<sup>84</sup> The new laird and his factor were now preaching a doctrine of self-dependency and competition with the traditional annual lease being replaced by the first three-part performance leases of twelve to twenty-one year duration.

There is no doubt, however, that Shapinsay's 'pocketed' tenantry viewed these changes as anything but permanent and were extremely suspicious of long-term leases and amelioration agreements. The tenant traditionally sees the conditions of his lease as impediments in contrast to his landlord who views them as an extension of the maintenance of his property and a safeguard against possible bankruptcy. As sole proprietor on Shapinsay, and Heritor of 26,000 acres in total, David Balfour had a finite period to prove the efficacy of his theories. Correspondence to and from his

---

Revolution' (pp. 378-394) is nicely balanced against the earlier Chapter 23, 'Old-style Farming' (pp. 315-332).

<sup>84</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, Letter of 29 July 1845 from D. Balfour to W. Balfour at Hermiston House. George Reid, griever at Sound, has answered criticism of his methods by calling the former 'most insolent', and using 'sauce' or 'sulky' to describe his behaviour.



lawyers in Edinburgh reveals his eagerness to utilise every endowment or Government grant and his near recklessness in the break-neck speed of the construction of Balfour Castle.<sup>85</sup> This nervousness did not prevent him, however, from making annual excursions to Naples, Florence or Rome. His familiarity with these regions, and his disposable income, led to an offer of an honorary ambassadorship to the Holy See from Lord Liverpool's government.<sup>86</sup> The flow of imports (many from Italy) for Balfour Castle, and the number of six-page letters from Marcus Calder, attest to the speed of the whole venture.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, confidence and arrogance were the hallmarks of the early years of David Balfour's stewardship, in which an enormous mock-baronial pile was stationed at the apex of Orkney's shipping channels, the name of his great-grandfather's village was changed to that of his own, and every farm building on Trenabie land had to be built to his specifications.

Although this overweening confidence was bolstered by 'new' money, Balfour was taking an unparalleled risk in laying-out huge sums of money on projects that were a decade or more from possible profit. A crucial element, unacknowledged in the Balfour Papers, were the very 'disabilities' (of proto-industrial development) of the previous decade which now became advantages in Balfour's high risk strategy. The collapse of proto-industries had pulled the tenantry

---

<sup>85</sup> O.A., D2/15/7. Letters of 3 March 1847, 17 May 1847, 10 October 1847 and 9 December 1847. David Kinnear writes to D. Balfour complaining of the cost of hiring construction workers from outside Orkney if the project does not run smoothly (or to time). He is also worried by the cost of stone, the late arrival of oak paneling and the overall cost of Balfour Castle.

<sup>86</sup> O.A., D2/15/8, letter of 6 January 1853 from B.Hornby (Advocate General) to D. Balfour.

<sup>87</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 14 February 1847 from M. Calder to Mrs. E. Balfour. Although Calder reports that the work is 'progressing', he is 'concerned' at the possible dearth in labourers. David Bryce, the architect, took a far more relaxed view of his contractual obligations and was not above a riotous evening or two, emptying the wine cellars of his client in the company of Calder.

from older practices and had led to, 'constant remunerative employment for every male labourer, at wages from 1 shilling and three pence to two shillings *per diem*., while the women & children were engaged cleaning turnips, plantations and other work suited to their strengths at wages from 6d to 10d *per diem*.'<sup>88</sup> Shapinsay's failed proto-industries had barely created a rudimentary technology and the very impermanence of their existence stood out in stark, and physical, contrast to the new improved farm buildings, revolutionary ditching and imported machinery. Deposits of lime were extant on Shapinsay (see Chapter 1) but efficient kilns had not been built and tens of thousands of pounds of alkali had to be prepared and imported. Likewise, the kelp trade had sufficed with primitive, shallow, burning-pits and the fishing industry had failed to invest in curing facilities. Even the stocking-knitting frames, used by two dozen of the poorer families, were of such rudimentary standard that they were fit only for kindling.

The building of Balfour Castle, the extension of Elwick Harbour and the gradual emergence of new, straight, roads clearly indicated to the tenantry the permanence of these changes. Although the old physical boundaries of Shapinsay were disappearing very quickly, the feared sheep-walks (along with mass eviction) had not materialised. The new private and public works, however, added an element of compulsion to the ongoing swell of modernisation. Few tenants, of course, could refuse the dictates of their landlord and here, also, circumstance allied to political and commercial change combined to facilitate a transformed society. The growing number of artisan families in the expanded Balfour Village has been mentioned and there can be little doubt that the bustle and industry of these early, innovative, years

---

<sup>88</sup> O.A., D2/16/45. Letter of 8 February 1848 from D. Balfour to Dr. Omand, Gairloch.

had created a new spirit of community and optimism. When this optimism, born partially out of close proximity, extended to opposition to the laird's sense of propriety then a more sharply defined boundary was created between villager and farmer/tenant. The tendency of the village artisans to support the Secession Church in larger numbers than their lease-holding neighbours, did nothing to ease relations with their landlord and paved the way for the first division of Shapinsay's population along occupational lines.

The decline of the fishing industry on Shapinsay was also a 'disability' turned to advantage. The successful years of super-abundant herring shoals were to linger a little longer in more northerly waters but Dutch, Danish and German busses eager for Spring quotas of 'nieuwe haring' (the first herring of a new season) were moving outside the range of Shapinsay's simple yoles.<sup>89</sup> Both the Rental Book and Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay and the decennial National Census reports are a testament to the desertion of fishing for the safer prospects on land. Appendix J and the two related surveys of tenant movement further underline this decline from mainstay to subsidiary occupation.<sup>90</sup> Later chapters will illustrate the partial revival of fishing as a subsidiary income for second sons after the first phases of mechanised farming had depressed the demand for labour. This fishing, however, was only for lobster &/or saithe. The second phase of improvement would push the acreage of these small, shoreline, holdings up to thirty or forty acres and many of the lost fishing jobs would

---

<sup>89</sup> 'Nieuwe haring' or new, fresh, herring, are much sought after in the Netherlands and Germany. They are consumed in enormous numbers and fetch a high price, even to this day. Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 58-66 & 68 and Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 369-371.

<sup>90</sup> Appendix L and O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay. Appendix J - Movement of Shapinsay's Tenant Farmers and survey of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay; National Census (1841-1891), vol. XX, sheet 28-Orkney.

be absorbed by Balfour's need for seamen on his cattle-boats between Elwick, Kirkwall, Caithness and the Northern Isles of Orkney. He was anxious to avoid an exodus from Shapinsay and his other properties and jealously guarded 'his people' throughout the whole of his stewardship of the Trenabie Estate. Cross-island migration was, however, a feature of his administration, especially during the early years of the 'squaring'. Tenants who were known as 'good farmers' (Marcus Calder's own words) were moved to flag-ship farms and incomers re-located to their vacated tenancies on the knowledge of past performance, usually from Trenabie land elsewhere in the Northern Isles. The Inksters of Eynhallow were a typical example, eventually settling down at Nisthouse and Vedesquoy farms after an initial period at Balfour Mains in the 1840s.<sup>91</sup> Henceforth the distinction, first mentioned above, between farming, fishing and manual labour would become more marked with farming gradually exchanging its spirit of communal co-operation for the specialisation of one-family units rearing beef cattle, pedigree sheep or monocultured cereals. The urbanisation of artisans and craftsmen had already begun at Balfour Village. David Balfour's ideal of an integrated, all-Orcadian, population prevented him from recruiting Irish migrants. To Marcus Calder's pleas for more labourers, Balfour replied that they would present 'too many problems'. He had, however, a solution to Calder's problems because, 'I am at present negotiating for a colony of Germans. Here probably not less than 95 to 97 per cent of our acres are easily

---

<sup>91</sup> Appendix J- Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay. Both Nisthouse and Vedesquoy were fringe holdings on the North Hill Common before the squaring and ditching of 1847-51.



capable of cultivation but there is not more than one person (man, woman or child) to any 9 acres.’<sup>92</sup>

### **Summary of the ‘disabilities’ and problems associated with enclosure.**

In the welter of building blocks, ‘exirpated’ wild sheep, demolished turf walls and ‘flittin’ tenants, a number of thorny problems remained unresolved. David Balfour’s social ambitions will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 but he faced more immediate decisions on the integration and future of ‘his people’ on Shapinsay and in the rest of his scattered domain. The ever-present dilemma of investment against time was put into perspective by a letter from Balfour to Dr. Omand at Gairloch. Its concluding observation, after describing the ‘extirpation’ of wild sheep and the upheaval on Shapinsay, demonstrates the scale of his ambitions, ‘I think I have exhausted my rather, egotistical, catalogue of improvements. Perhaps...by his (James Matheson) millions my pidling projects might become giants like his but I must cut my coat... the proverb is known.’<sup>93</sup> The overarching problems caused by archaic legislation and a Superior’s indifference were not, of course, a concern for Matheson in Lewis. Behind the future struggle for export markets or improved communications lay problems with Poor Law administration, Udal Law, skat and teind and the ever-present threat of depopulation. The logistics of dynamic change demanded that all of

---

<sup>92</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter from D. Balfour to M. Calder (date indistinct) 1847 and D2/16/45, letter of 22 January 1852 from D. Balfour to Charles Buchanan, Inveraray.

<sup>93</sup> O.A., D2/16/1845, letter of 8 February 1848 to Dr. Omand, Gairloch. The term ‘flittin’ is usually applied to the transport of cattle by open boat. In this case it is used for the moving of a household.

Balfour's intended initiatives should be implemented simultaneously and that investment would oil every step.

Balfour propaganda was intended to show contemporaries that Orkney, with Shapinsay as its flagship, was not an isolated irrelevance but a future contributor to the British economy and a hub of North European prosperity. The need for a positive reaction from legislators at Westminster was paramount, thus presaging the stream of pamphlets, newspaper articles, personal correspondence and the book *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*.<sup>94</sup> Much of this propaganda, however, passed over the heads of a population reeling from the shock of the new. The technical nature of the 'squaring', field rotations or deep drainage, will be explained in the following chapter, together with their early successes and failures. The ultimate success of David Balfour's transformation plans would, however, depend on the tenantry of Shapinsay and their willingness to suffer the discomforts of the present for the promised prosperity of the future.

---

<sup>94</sup> D. Balfour, *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*, (Edinburgh, 1860). This attack on the duplicity of the Earldom of Orkney, the extortions of absentee landlords and the complacency of undemocratic governments, is intended to portray improvers and their like as the true descendants of the hardworking udallers of past centuries. It will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

## Chapter Three

### The 'squaring' and signs of unrest.

The face-sheet of the first National Census of 1841 for the island of Shapinsay was signed by 'John Barry (minister)'. As presiding officer he had added the following footnote, 'the increase of population is probably due to the level of cod and herring fishing, not cognicent of any increases of immigration.'<sup>1</sup> This increase of 15.7 per cent in the population of Shapinsay, assessed in the unofficial census of 1831, was corrected by a downward 3.95 per cent in 1851 and increased again by 8.35 per cent in 1861 to remain stable throughout our period.<sup>2</sup> In relation to David Balfour's ambitions for the island, these percentages are both significant and revealing. Analysis of occupations and trades on Shapinsay, prior to the squaring of the whole island, show fifty-eight households solely occupied with farming; nine with farming & fishing, three listed as 'crofts' and forty-three solely with fishing.<sup>3</sup> Chapter One outlined the actions and opinions of Captain William Balfour and his relationship with his tenants on the old Sound Estate. John Barry's comments, above, amount to a postscript to the latter's last days as a 'merchant laird'. Fishing was to remain an

---

<sup>1</sup> National Census of Population (1841), Orkney, Sheet 28 (Shapinsay) p. 1. On this, and subsequent censuses, the enumerators were obliged to make copies of the household census schedules in specially printed ledgers. The signature on the face-sheet was invariably that of the local minister. M.Anderson, *British Population History*, (Cambridge, 1996), traces the development of census taking in Scotland from the pioneer work of Alexander Webster (1707-1784), pp. 200 & 220. Webster, assisted by Robert Wallace, compiled his unofficial 'census' in 1755.

<sup>2</sup> O.A., SC14/8/1842-1851, Parish Records for the island of Shapinsay. T.Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*, (London, 1798), argues that a reduction in nuptuality is the mechanism which will bring population back into line with food production as a 'preventative' check. E.A.Wrigley & R.S.Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871*, (Cambridge, 1981), suggest that because short-term fluctuations in economic conditions were considerable, long-term changes in conditions only became apparent after a considerable lapse of time.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix J, Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay and Graph A (Appendix F), Occupational Graph for Shapinsay.

essential occupation in underpinning food stocks during the transitional years of 1847-1857 but declining numbers of cod and herring were becoming more apparent in in-shore waters. By the end of our period (1875) this trend was irreversible. Indeed, by the time of the 1881 National Census, only twenty families were registered with an interest in fishing of which eight lived solely from that occupation. The corresponding numbers of farming families had risen in the same period from fifty-eight to ninety-six.<sup>4</sup>

### **The beginnings of an agricultural economy and tenants' doubts.**

Subsequent Census reports do not, unfortunately, carry any comments by a presiding officer. However, the declining numbers of fishing families mentioned above, and the progressively fewer men and women listed in ancillary trades, is adequate testament to Shapinsay's adoption of commercial farming. David Balfour's vision of the Trenabie Estate, particularly for Shapinsay, is explained in Chapter 2 together with the favourable legislation underpinning such radical change.<sup>5</sup> His predecessors had operated on a limited scale within a system of well-defined seasonal work patterns and scarce natural resources. The Sutherland surveys of the Bishopric Estate and the earlier Grainger and Miller maps of Shapinsay are an eloquent illustration of these limitations.<sup>6</sup> Thus the revolutionary aspect of 10-acre 'squared' fields came as a visual, physical and mental shock to his tenants. Anecdotal evidence suggests that

---

<sup>4</sup> Third Statistical Account for Scotland (1985), vol. IX-Orkney and Shetland. The foreword to this report was written by W.P.L.Thomson based on hitherto unpublished statistics gathered up to and including 1951. National Census of Population (1881), Orkney-Sheet 28.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay. National Census of Population, (1841-1891), Orkney-Sheet 28.

<sup>6</sup> NAS, Register House Plans, 2892-2897. O.A., 1831 Map of Shapinsay by Grainger & Miller, Chartered Surveyors.



early tenant reaction varied according to the nature of the farm or holding.<sup>7</sup> The French historian Pierre Goubert's assertion that, 'no peasant willingly gives up land, be it only half a furrow', is borne out by these accounts.<sup>8</sup> All three of Balfour's predecessors on Shapinsay had tolerated a system of land reclamation, pinpointed as follows by Thomson, 'The Orkney system of farms with cottar pendicles on the moorlands edge, supplying labour and tackling the work of reclamation by acting as a moving pioneer fringe advancing up the hill.'<sup>9</sup>

David Balfour's impatience with these practices is clear from his letters to his lawyers in Edinburgh and sympathetic landlords elsewhere in Scotland. As early as 1834 he had made the following comments on Shapinsay's numerous small-holdings,

The brown farms in Shapinsay are all small-scarcely any of them exceed half a dozen acres of arable land- with only two or three exceptions they are separated from each other by the lands of the Heritors so that to join them in any way that would diminish their numbers...is impracticable.<sup>10</sup>

To Kinnear in Edinburgh he had this to say,

Here we are as busy as the bad times will allow us. Farming is improving all over Orkney and the practice of improvement is active and now our principal act must be to direct it into proper channels. The small farmers seem now fully alive to the advantages of a better system.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Interviews on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1997 with J.Sinclair of Ha'quoy, John Bews of Parkhall and James Hepburn of Linton. All of the above spoke of grand-parents who had passed on their opinions and experiences of the early years of Shapinsay's transformation. Although all three grand-parents had farmed on or above 30 acres, they were suspicious of David Balfour's ambitious plans. They feared a type of consolidation that would lead to fewer, bigger, farms and subsequent evictions.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by T.M.Devine, *Exploring the Scottish Past*, (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Samuel Laing of Papdale and Sir Lawrence Dundas of Kerse were the last proprietors of the estates of Sandstoun and Ness and Burroughstoun, purchased by David Balfour in 1846. W.P.L.Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters: Crisis and Conflict on an Orkney Crofting Estate*, (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/14, 'Rough notes by David Balfour concerning Bishopric lands', October 1834.

<sup>11</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 22 November 1847 from D. Balfour to J. Kinnear W.S., Edinburgh.

Balfour's optimism, however, was dampened by his failure to lease a number of his larger farms to outsiders. Charles Featherstone, a landed proprietor in Inverness-shire, had recently withdrawn from the purchase of an Orcadian property, citing the lack of regular transport to the Scottish mainland. In his reply to Featherstone, Balfour lays the blame at the feet of the Crown Estate, 'Hypocritical, I am not so disappointed at the failures of my schemes for securing neighbours so agreeable as to the disagreements, which have been legion.'<sup>12</sup> Again, in a letter to Arthur Anderson MP, he blames the Crown for backwardness in promoting improved farming, 'Orkney's worst incubus is the Crown estate and its mismanagement.' He proposes a Select Committee to combat, 'one of the evils which obstruct our social progress.'<sup>13</sup>

The valuation of the pre-improved acreage on Shapinsay was a mere £2,158/18/10 in 1770 and had actually decreased, to £2,137/1/3, by 1846.<sup>14</sup> As outlined in the previous chapters, Shapinsay was regarded by contemporaries as fertile and potentially profitable by 18<sup>th</sup> century standards. By the 1840s this situation was even more promising given the sanctioning of the *Division of Commonly* and the *Drainage Act (Scotland)*.<sup>15</sup> As stated in Chapter Two, David Balfour had ample opportunity to study contemporary and precedential evidence of land improvement across Scotland. Armed with the prerequisite surveys, scientific analysis, legal advice and £6,000 of Government drainage loans, the laird's new factor was set to work. On

<sup>12</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 5 February 1848 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to C. Featherstone, Frankfurt.

<sup>13</sup> O.A. D2/16/45, letter of 14 July 1848 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to A. Anderson MP, Westminster. Anderson was MP for the Northern Burghs.

<sup>14</sup> L.R.Timperley (ed.), *Directory of Landownership in Scotland, 1770*, (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 134. NAS, vol. XV-Orkney, pp. 79-82.

<sup>15</sup> I.H.Adams (ed.), *Directory of Former Scottish Commonities* (Scottish Record Society, 1971), pp. 165-173. A summons of Division of Commonly was raised in 1831 by Lord Jeffrey against Samuel Laing of Papdale in the Court of Session (Lord Advocate v. Laing-CS238 A/10) and commissioned by J.A.Maconochie (Sheriff-Depute, County of Orkney) in 1844. The relevant map is displayed in the NAS (West Register House), RH2831. AP, 9 & 10 Victoria c.101, Public Money Drainage Act (1846). Register of Sasines-Orkney and Shetland, Certificate of Advance (8/6/1848) by Inclosure

Marcus Calder's appointment, in June 1846, David Balfour described the Caithness-man as 'a good Factor possessing a competent knowledge of agriculture', who 'will better himself'.<sup>16</sup> The agricultural specialists who had joined Calder on Shapinsay have already been introduced in Chapter Two. Their new tenancies can also be seen as a way of 'bettering themselves' as the farms of Strathore, Westhill and Walthness were regarded by Balfour as his premier sites on Shapinsay.

The 1979 map of Shapinsay (Appendix S) shows the final result of the Balfour/Calder 'squaring' with an excess of 6,000 acres neatly laid-out in ten-acre square fields (unchanged since 1867). Only a small area of grassy moorland from the former East Hill Common remains to serve as rough grazing. The old North Hill Common and the remainder of the East Hill Common have been completely converted to farmland and only the curving nature of the coastline has prevented a complete grid system of farms.

The years after 1848 saw rapid, but not level, progress in David Balfour's plans. Shoreside Village had been swiftly re-named Balfour Village and the entire island (excluding the above mentioned south-east corner) put under the plough.<sup>17</sup> Although farms of 30 to 80 acres had been laid-out on newly reclaimed land, the deep drains round every unit had not been completed and most farmhouses were unfinished. The impression given by Marcus Calder, in his letters to Eleanor Balfour (David Balfour was in Italy for much of the Summer of 1847, purchasing antiques and furnishings for their new home), is one of a gigantic building-site. Calder's

---

Commissioners for England & Wales, being part of £3,000 for the drainage of Sound, Shapinsay (PR.35.214).

<sup>16</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letters of 15 February 1846 and 3 June 1846 from D. Balfour to J.Kinnear.

<sup>17</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 14 October 1847 from T. Abbott, Postmaster General (Scotland) authorising the renaming of Shapinsay's post office to that of 'Balfour'.

confidence, however, was tempered with his uncertainty about the future ownership of Shapinsay. Robert Alder-Edmeston, Balfour's brother-in-law, had been informed a month after Calder's appointment that, 'I am busy with a survey of Shapinsay. I was offered £2,000 a year for it but think I shall make £4,000.'<sup>18</sup> Six months into the squaring Calder betrayed his uncertainty in two letters to Mrs Balfour. The first contains this sentence, 'as may make amends for any hurry the Laird might have been in about getting clear of this place.' The second admits that although he has, 'been squaring away in the Estate in great style', he has nevertheless brought two former colleagues (Messrs Keir and Mackay, Caithness tenants of Sir George Dunbar) to inspect the lining-out at Ness and other farms. He was, he said, 'anxious to get their opinion on certain lines and ditches', and that they 'did not return till 7 o'clock in the evening.'<sup>19</sup>

Calder's uncertainty was misplaced, however, as David Balfour was busy recruiting joiners and boat-builders for his estate and had turned down a number of prospective tenants whose demands exceeded even the larger farm units he was laying out on Shapinsay.<sup>20</sup> In addition he was deep in discussion with the architect David Bryce on the completion cost of Balfour Castle, and the design of surrounding farms. None of which suggests that he was building a grandiose palace filled with expensive antiques simply to enhance the future sale of Shapinsay.<sup>21</sup> Balfour and Calder concurred on one topic, however, which was mentioned in Chapter Two. That

---

<sup>18</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 30 July 1846 from D. Balfour to R. Edmeston, Eyemouth.

<sup>19</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letters of 14 July 1847 and 15 July 1847 from M. Calder to Mrs E. Balfour, Berwick-upon-Tweed.

<sup>20</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 24 September 1847 from James Chivas (no address) requesting 'a large farm'. Note in the margin simply says 'no'. Letters of 5 October 1847 and 7 October 1847 from Smith & Kinnear W.S. recommending the employment of Ogilvy (joiner) and McRobbie (boatbuilder).

<sup>21</sup> O.A., letter of 17 May 1847 from Smith & Kinnear W.S. to D. Balfour enclosing Bryce's final estimate of £6,735/17/-. An earlier letter, D2/16/45, of 13 October 1846 requests Bryce's assistance in



was the shortage of labour that threatened to delay the completion of Balfour Castle and all the other ambitious works throughout Shapinsay. Although analysis of all available population statistics does show a slight influx of families from other Orcadian islands, never exceeding 7 per cent of the existing population, these migrants were 'good farmers' who were expected to prosper as tenants of the new, improved, farms. David Balfour had hopes of recruiting German farm-workers from Saxony but Calder's needs were not to be met from other areas nearer home as Balfour could, 'scarcely recommend an importation of Irish to Shapinsay for various reasons.'<sup>22</sup> This strict approach could be harsh, as when the farm-manager George Frisken, was instructed to 'warn out squatters' at the farms of Burnside, Damside and Nether Styre (all to be demolished in the squaring). Frisken was further instructed to,

keep a strict look-out so that we are not deluged with paupers unnecessarily. I hear of 20 in Shapinsay - surely this must be a gross exaggeration. We must stop the practice, of every squatter, giving accommodation to someone as poor as themselves, to become twice a burden on the parish.<sup>23</sup>

Thomson's insistence that, 'it was the surplus of rural labour which made rapid improvement possible', may be valid in Orkney as a whole but it is not relevant to Shapinsay.<sup>24</sup> In the four years that saw the 'squaring' at its most active, 1847-51, thirteen families migrated to Shapinsay; eight of them were settled as farm dependants or artisans to be matched by a total of seventeen displaced families. Appendix J (Movement of Tenants on Shapinsay 1841-71) gives the tabulation of displaced, outgoing and incoming families in our period. The core of the pre-

---

designing new farm-steadings. It ends, 'I am constantly needing new houses or new steadings or something of that sort.'

<sup>22</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 3 March 1847 from J. Kinnear to D. Balfour.

<sup>23</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 8 October 1845 from D. Balfour to G. Frisken, Sound.

<sup>24</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 379.

improvement tenancy remained, with thirty families of Bews, Drevers, Reids and Scotts moving to new sites and considerable numbers of Shearers, Swanneys and Works retaining their old land.<sup>25</sup>

A full Appendix of all Shapinsay's families (Appendix A) has been compiled for the years 1841 to 1881, together with a Survey of Farming, Fishing and Labouring Families for the same period (Appendix I). It charts the social advancement of the competent farmer, the stagnation (measured in the location and size of the holding) of the fishing interest and the almost total liquidation of the straw-plaiter's croft or 'paupers' cottage. Other demographic implications will be analysed in Chapters Four and Five but these statistics still give us insufficient information about the social upheaval and the mental and physical state of the islanders in this period. In the case of Shapinsay Fry is correct when, in making a general observation, he feels that, 'obsequiousness rankled, yet was often necessary if a family wished to retain its lease.'<sup>26</sup> Anecdotal evidence has been mentioned above (see footnote 7) and little survives except fragmented biographical material and this oral research.<sup>27</sup> James Sinclair has summed up Balfour's treatment of his ancestor during the squaring as, 'formal, perfunctory, distant but fair'.<sup>28</sup> The Heritor

<sup>25</sup> Appendix J, The movement within Shapinsay, post 1847, of Farmers, Fishermen and Artisans. Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay 1841-1881.

<sup>26</sup> M. Fry, *Patronage and Principle*, (Aberdeen, 1987), p. 66.

<sup>27</sup> W. Irvine, *The Isle of Shapinsay*, (Kirkwall, 1977). Dr. Irvine is a descendant of the novelist Washington Irving (there is no clear evidence that the novelist's parents changed the spelling of their surname after their arrival in the U.S.A. or whether Irving became a *nom de plume*) who was born in the U.S.A. (1783) after his parents had left Quholm farm, Shapinsay in 1782. The Irvine family continued to farm on Shapinsay throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although Quholm was never expanded to the size of its neighbouring farms. Dr. Irvine gives the reason for his ancestor's emigration as lack of incentive for a second son and the poor nature (Quholm had to be drained for a second time in 1868) of the soil. Interviews with James Sinclair O.B.E, of Ha'quoy farm on 18 February 1997 and Kenneth Meason of Furstigarth on 25 September 1997, are oral evidence of the hardship and self-reliance of their ancestors and of their grudging acceptance of Balfour's agricultural 'revolution'.

<sup>28</sup> James Sinclair, see note 27, is the ancestor of Robert Sinclair of Lucknow farm, whose earlier relatives had emigrated from the island of Stronsay and settled as farmers after subsisting as fishermen and quarrymen in the 1840's.

was not so even-handed, however, when it came to religion and its radical implications.

### **The opposition mounted by a Dissenting congregation on Shapinsay**

In 1846 David Balfour was confronted by two religious denominations, complete with separate manses and churches. They were the Church of Scotland and the United Secession Church (only a year from being absorbed into the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland). Both manses were situated on Shapinsay's central spine but the Kirk held its services some distance away, close to the shore. The other church on the island, at Linton in East-Hollandstoun, was a ruin and functioned only as a graveyard. The Balfour family professed to the Episcopalian faith and disliked, 'any radical change or revolution', where it involved matters outside land improvement.<sup>29</sup> The 'ephemeral' promises of prosperity described by Schrank with reference to Holm Estate, were also feared in Shapinsay. In quoting E.P. Thompson Schrank observes that, 'overt protest to dramatic changes in rural property relations...rarely made their way into the press', and continued, 'They will be found...more often in the exchange of letters between estate stewards and their absent masters, treated as domestic concerns.'<sup>30</sup> This was an important consideration when the first real dissent was recorded on Shapinsay in 1846. David Balfour, through his own experiences as 'Younger of Trenaby' and later through the letters of his factor Marcus Calder, was aware of tenant nervousness and the anti-burgher sentiments preached from the pulpit at Brecks by the Secession minister James

<sup>29</sup> Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters*, p. 152.

<sup>30</sup> G. Schrank, *An Orkney Estate*, (East Linton, 1995), pp. 75 & 91, quotes from E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Custom*, (New York, 1993), pp. 115-117.

Brown.<sup>31</sup> The Voluntarist principles of this congregation had gained a boost from several directions during William Balfour's stewardship on Shapinsay. Firstly, they were appalled that the Heritor nominated Kirk moderate, John Barry, was incapable of ministering to his congregation and that they were obliged to render tiend for his stipend. In addition, he failed to maintain his manse, church and glebe in good repair. Secondly, anti-burgher opposition to the principle of an established church had led (in Orkney) to the formation of a network of Relief and Secession churches throughout the County. When they combined to form the United Presbyterian Church, in 1847, a Presbytery was instituted in Kirkwall. This was undoubtedly a great confidence booster to the Voluntarist cause.<sup>32</sup>

On Shapinsay the Secession Church had completed their church by 1832 and by 1846 had a congregation of approximately 210, drawing its members principally from small tenant farmers and fishing families.<sup>33</sup> Legislation on public assembly, the consumption of intoxicating beverages or even on dancing in public to music was enforced in theory (but seldom prosecuted) by the juring class acting as local magistrates. These landowners were not, however, subject to Temperance Union or other dissenting influences. In direct contrast, the Secession Church (and from 1847 the United Presbyterian Church) had codified rules of discipline that placed a heavy responsibility on its members to observe 'islands of abstinence as examples to the rest of the country'.<sup>34</sup> In sharp contrast, the Church of Scotland's representatives had

---

<sup>31</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7. This series of letters contain many from Marcus Calder (beginning with his appointment in June 1846) to his employers, complaining of 'humbugs' who are only interested in 'power' and 'disruption'. James Brown was a stern administrator of the Secession's articles of behaviour.

<sup>32</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 409.

<sup>33</sup> C.G. Brown, *Religion & Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 29. The 'enjoining of early marriage' is an interesting observation about splinter Presbyterian groups.

<sup>34</sup> Fry, *Patronage and Principle*, p. 67.



no such prohibitions. In a letter from the Kirk incumbent on Sanday, the Rev. William Grant, James Drever a Kirkwall merchant, is instructed as follows, 'As I give the sacrament here on the 24<sup>th</sup> inst., please send me the 14 bottles port wine, 3 gallons of whisky, 1 gallon sloewater, one stone raw sugar... (if you have any porter to spare send me two dozen bottles).'<sup>35</sup> On Shapinsay the example of James Russell, forced to stand on the 'white stone' before the pulpit for 'Drunkenness and excess alcohol', was an early example of this Temperance zeal.<sup>36</sup> David Balfour knew from his years as an Edinburgh lawyer of the early 1830's the truth of the maxim that, 'seceders...while in no sense constituting a political party, were certainly a political force.'<sup>37</sup> His reaction to what he regarded as a typical dissenters' manifestation of anti-landlordism was uncompromising and characteristically opportunistic.

### **The Promiscuous Dancing Affair**

In the wake of the successful acquisition of Samuel Laing's Sandstoun Estate and Dundas of Kerse's Bishopric Estate, David Balfour had cause for celebration. Notwithstanding the potato blight that had caused hardship in Ireland and the North and West of Scotland, he was able to write to his brother-in-law that, 'this year, because I never saw such crops as I now have'. He was, of course, referring to his cereal crop on the (as yet) unimproved Sound Estate.<sup>38</sup> Anxious, therefore, to

---

<sup>35</sup> O.A., D14/4/12, letter of 9 July 1825 from Rev. W. Grant, Lady, Sanday, to J. Drever, merchant, Shore, Kirkwall.

<sup>36</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, minute nr. 114, October 1831. The 'white stone' was a prominent place of atonement, standing in front of the pulpit of the Secession Church in Shapinay.

<sup>37</sup> Fry, *Patronage and Principle*, p.62. David Balfour qualified as W.S. on 29 September 1837, from the Signet Library. Merit pass to Signet Library, O.A., D21/5.

<sup>38</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 30 July 1846 from D. Balfour, Sound to R. Edmeston, Eyemouth, Berwickshire.

celebrate his ownership of the whole island of Shapinsay, the inheritance of the whole Trenabie Estate and to formally introduce his wife Eleanor to his new tenants, he entertained lavishly at Cliffdale House. This was also to be the old house's swan-song as a gentleman's seat of hospitality and he had written accordingly to Robert Edmeston, 'The builders too are going to turn us out of house and home for two years.'<sup>39</sup> On the first Saturday of October 1846 his guests were summoned to a sumptuous Harvest Home which was intended to assure the uncertain tenantry of the benevolent intentions of their host. The symbolism of the Orcadian Harvest Home was not lost on Balfour or his guests. As a feast which stretches back into Orkney's Viking past, it not only celebrates the completion of the harvest but anticipates the coming of Winter and the frugality which will be interrupted only by Christmas and New Year.<sup>40</sup> It also pre-dated Martinmas (11<sup>th</sup> November) which was the traditional day for the payment of rents, the hiring of farm servants and the renewal of leases. David Balfour needed, therefore, to calm a nervous tenantry. None of the guests at Cliffdale House that Saturday evening abstained, in spite of the Secession Church's disciplinary code (art. 4, self government- 'watch carefully over the temperance of your members') and the laird's liberality was celebrated to the full.

The following Sunday the Secession minister, the Rev. James Brown, demanded that his congregation should submit to 'humiliation' (sic) in the face of

<sup>39</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 30 July 1846. David Balfour married Eleanor Edmeston in April 1846.

<sup>40</sup> Harvest Homes, which are the social high-point of Orkney's farming community to this day, are associated with Havard 'Harvest-Happy', the second son of Thorfinn Skull-splitter, a late tenth-century earl killed at 'Havard's Rigs' in Stenness, Orkney. Although reputed to be 'lucky with his harvest' his dynastic aims were short-lived. See Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp 56-8 and E.J.Cowan, 'Caithness in the Sagas' in J.Baldwin (ed.), *Caithness; a Cultural Crossroads*, (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 29-31. O.A., D31/24/3, E.W.Marwick, 'Journey from Serfdom', unpublished draft of a history of fifteenth-century Orkney, is less inclined to believe this origin for harvest homes and prefers a Neolithic ceremony.

‘divine providence’ for the failure of the potato crop on Shapinsay. However, in concluding his sermon he demanded that, ‘certain members who had recently been engaged in promiscuous dancing be enjoined to appear at the next meeting of the session.’<sup>41</sup> The presiding elders of this subsequent, fateful, meeting were James Shearer, William Peace, Magnus Shearer, William Nicholson, William Sketheway, James Meason and James Reid. On 20 October 1846 Marion Hepburn, Barabara Wards, Thomas Laughton and Margaret and William Work were officially admonished under the above mentioned article 4. Nine days later George Frisken, Edward Nicolson, Janet Irvine and Jane Gullion received the same punishment from the presiding elders (Reid and Magnus Shearer were absent).<sup>42</sup> Most of the guests who were subsequently disciplined by the Secession kirk session were tenants of Balfour but two were his personal servants. George Frisken was Balfour’s grieve at Sound, and Marcus Calder’s second-in-command, Jane Gullion was one of his farm servants and a part-time maid at Cliffdale House.

To accuse Balfour’s servants of ‘promiscuous dancing’ at ‘a private party in a gentleman’s house’, was a challenge the laird and his factor seemed to relish.<sup>43</sup> There is little doubt that he was deeply offended, personally and intellectually, by the actions of the Rev. Brown and his elders, with the words ‘divine providence’ adding insulting and ignorant comment on the conduct of farm management under his trust. In addition Balfour, absent abroad at the time of the Rev. Brown’s (and his elders) written protest, believed that he was being attacked ‘behind his back’ by a body of

---

<sup>41</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the Anti-Burgher Church 1815-1847, minute of 7 October 1847.

<sup>42</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, minutes of 20 October 1846 and 29 October 1846.

<sup>43</sup> O.A., Balfour papers, D2/15/7, letter of 4 July 1847 from M. Calder to Mrs E. Balfour, Berwick-upon-Tweed.

dogmatic opinion that did not take account of the proper welfare and recreation of 'his' tenants. Moreover, the celebration of Harvest Home was dear to all Orcadians (but apparently not to the Secession Church) and David Balfour held tradition in high regard. However, the incident itself presented David Balfour with an excellent opportunity to quash any opposition to his re-positioning of sixty to seventy small-holdings and the impending upheaval on Shapinsay. His determination to stamp his own identity on the Trenabie Estate had already been established by the change of name for Shapinsay's Post Office and Village, to Balfour, and by letters to the Lord Lyon in Edinburgh, claiming his seniority in the Balfour title.<sup>44</sup> The naming of the future Balfour Castle and its home-farm, Balfour Mains, are adequate proof of this determination.

David Balfour's arrogance, however, did not permit him to deal directly with the elders of the Secession Church (the Rev. Brown was safe in his perpetual 5/- feu at Brecks). In Balfour's lengthy absence during the Winter and Spring of 1846/7 Marcus Calder dealt with all estate business and his (Calder's) correspondence with his employer, and Eleanor Balfour (herself frequently absent at her family home near Eyemouth, Berwickshire), are a voluminous testament to proprietorial intention and opinion. Calder's language is strewn with references to 'a terrible funk about the new sort of farming'; 'screening the beasts (a reference to tenants with dissenting beliefs) or 'Mr.Balfour cannot now give in to them, nay he cannot with honour and dignity.' He hopes that 'Mr. Balfour will not be soft with them, for their pride will be

---

<sup>44</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 31 August 1846 from D.Balfour, Cliffdale to Lord Lyon, Holyrood, claiming seniority of Balfour family down from the siblings of Gilbert Balfour of Westray.



humbled.<sup>45</sup> Peace, James and Magnus Shearer and Nicholson were tenants on old one-year leases, while Sketheway held a cottage at Shoreside Village. Reid and Meason, however, were longer established and held larger farms at Ness and Furstigarth. All of the above were served with notices of eviction in the Spring of 1847, together with all tenants whose land would be subject to the first squarings that year. The Kirkwall Sheriff Court records forty-seven Summons of Eviction in the period which post-dates the Spring of 1847 but, excepting the Secession elders, none left the island.<sup>46</sup> The offending elders, however, decided to take action and before Marcus Calder could interview them, they wrote in protest to their landlord. This letter is reproduced in full as it an important chain in the events of 1847. It is also a guide to contemporary Secession action and thought, and contributed to the frustration and ire felt by Balfour and Calder. The letter, below, was signed by all the effected elders except the elderly William Peace.

We have received warning under your command to quit our houses and consequently to leave the island and have been given to understand that the reason of this is because acting as Elders we manifested disapproval of our members dancing at your Harvest Home and spoke with them accordingly. This act of warning has filled us with concern. We are concerned to think that you should disapprove of our following our convictions in seeking to promote the piety and pure morals of the island, and we cannot but be astonished that you should have thought of visiting our doing so with such a penalty. We had hoped that you were favourably impressed with our respect for you and our desire to meet your wishes, and we are shoor (sic) such an impression would have been just, but we did not imagine that you thought so meanly of us to suppose that we would surrender our convictions of religious duty. It cannot but pain us that you should have thought that we were acting in our office as Elders otherwise than from a sense of duty or that we could be base enough to put any one else in place of our divine Master as Lord of the Conscience.

<sup>45</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letters of 29 January 1847, 11 May 1847 and 15 July 1847 to Mrs.Eleanor Balfour, Eyemouth.

<sup>46</sup> O.A., SC 11/5, Records of Kirkwall Sheriff Court, Summons of Eviction no. 8, no.29, and numbers 30 to 74, 22 March 1847. Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, and Appendix J, Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay.

We cannot forbear to say that if there has been any talebearing to call forth your offence such talebearers are as little your friends as they are ours and we readily give you the earnest assurance that we never designedly either acting officially or otherwise took an offensive step towards you.

Tho we all look back with interest to the kindly consideration which we received at the hand of your late father and feel sadly enough the disappointment of our hopes of the continuance of the same just and kind treatment and though most of us were born on the island and will feel regret enough at leaving it yet we hope God will make us willing to pay this or any other penalty that may be exacted of us for endeavouring first to keep a conscience void of offence towards Him.

Your answer as to your intentions to carry the removals into effect will much oblige.<sup>47</sup>

The phrase, quoted above, 'in seeking to promote the piety and pure morals of the island', would have been particularly offensive to an Episcopalian like David Balfour. While there is little doubt that David Balfour was genuinely offended by the reactions of the Rev. Brown and his elders, it is worth reiterating the assertion, on page 125 (above), that he had grasped the chance to rid the Trenabie Estate of potentially awkward tenants. To be lectured by his social inferiors, the representatives of a congregation which had abandoned the established Kirk, on the morals of 'his' tenants was an offence compounded by the unsubtle reminder of 'the kindly consideration which we received at the hand of your late father'. The 'talebearer' was undoubtedly George Frisken although there is no record of any written or verbal complaint either to Calder or Balfour. No mention of Balfour's grievance is made in the Secession kirk-session minutes which are full of self-congratulatory rhetoric on the union of their church with the Relief Church of Scotland, to form the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (hereafter the U.P.) on the 13<sup>th</sup> May 1847. A full four weeks after this union, on the 29<sup>th</sup> June, a flurry of

---

<sup>47</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter (signed) of 15 March 1847 from the Elders of the United Secession Church to D.Balfour, Cliffdale House, Shapinsay.

correspondence from the Shapinsay elders sought the guidance of their new Presbytery in Kirkwall. Their first letter, of the above date, is more circumspect than that sent to David Balfour and simply states,

After deliberation respecting the very peculiar position of all the Elders who are at present under a notice of ejection from their farms in the island, for offence taken by the Proprietor at their conduct in the ordinary discharge of discipline as a session, agreed to lay their case before the Presbytery of the Council for advice.<sup>48</sup> The U.P., through its moderator the Rev. Robert Paterson, took immediate action as follows, 'The Elders of the Congregation of Shapinsay applied for advice in a case of expulsion they having received legal warning from their Landlord, to quit their houses in consequence of the Exercise of their duty in Session dealing with certain Members of the Congregation for engaging in dancing at the 'Harvest Home' of the Proprietor. Heard the Elders at considerable length on the facts of the case, after which the Presbytery agreed to Express their unanimous and cordial concurrence in the course of their brethren in the Session at Shapinsay had taken, direct them to furnish the Presbytery with a faithful narrative of the whole case, and appoint the Moderator (the Rev. Paterson) and Messrs Buchan, McGovern and Hobbs in Committee to write to Mr. Balfour immediately and to and by their comments the Session in Shapinsay in the future progress of the case.<sup>49</sup>

Paterson, confident in a 'church (that) had an enormous appeal, and its members had a great sense of achievement', wrote to Balfour in what appeared to be conciliatory tones but challenging him on his legal right to evict tenants based on their religious convictions. Addressing David Balfour as a social equal, he expressed 'surprise' at Balfour's 'groundless' decision. It would have, according to Paterson, 'disastrous effects on the peace of the community.'<sup>50</sup> Again, this is a challenge to the authority of a J.P. (Balfour) with its suggestion that he has disregarded the safety of the community under his charge.

<sup>48</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the United Secession Church of Shapinsay. Minute of 29 June 1847.

<sup>49</sup> NAS, CH3/250/1, Minutes of the Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in Kirkwall, Orkney. Minute of 30 June 1847, p. 352.

<sup>50</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 13 July 1847 from Dr. R. Paterson to D. Balfour (forwarded to Florence, Italy).

No immediate reply was received from Balfour (still abroad in Italy) but Calder kept up the invective in his letters to Mrs. Balfour, describing the elders as, 'a few bigotd and ignorant tenants...wont yield an inch', who are to be dealt with in a 'trial of strength. Others will share the same fate.'<sup>51</sup> At the same time Calder was attempting to isolate the less committed tenants from their more radical brethren. Referring to James Reid, he has, 'helped to blow in his ear' and has drafted a letter to him and the elderly William Peace on admission of 'their mistaken zeal.' This, however, did not prevent him from a cruel turn of phrase in advising Mrs. Balfour that although the elders were about to draft a petition to David Balfour denying any insulting behaviour, her husband should reply as follows, 'Go ye Elders, depart in Peace, lest a worse thing befall ye; I consider it my duty to people my land with men of more expanded minds and more congenial to my heart.' He concludes the letter by referring to the U.P. moderator as 'Pope Paterson'. He repeats the taunt of 'humbugs' and 'rank hypocrisy' towards the elders and thinks that, 'if the Laird of Trenaby is to be pulled up by a lot of Seceeders from setting his lands as he chooses, faith then ther's an end to every thing like good government.'<sup>52</sup> The Trenabie Estate's future attitude to prospective tenants on improved farms would equate 'good government' with the Westminster Confession of Faith and insert a compliant clause in all its leases for new tenants.<sup>53</sup> Although there is no conclusive evidence (through the correspondence of Balfour or Calder) that the factor was acting on direct instructions from his employer, it is highly unlikely that Balfour would have permitted an employee to formulate or dictate estate policy without his approval. The reprimand

---

<sup>51</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letters of 28 June 1847 and 4 July 1847 from M.Calder to Mrs E.Balfour, Eyemouth.

<sup>52</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 15 July 1847 from M.Calder to Mrs. E.Balfour, Eyemouth.

<sup>53</sup> The stipulation that all future tenants should adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith is handled in Chapters 4 and 5.



given to the grievance at Sound farm, (Frisken) is ample proof of Balfour's intentions and attitude to employees who failed to follow his instructions.<sup>54</sup>

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> August David Balfour returned to Shapinsay from abroad to survey the current state of the improvements and Bryce's foundations for Balfour Castle. He dealt peremptorily with Paterson's appeal as follows, 'Should you or the committee of which you are the Chairman consider yourselves called upon to notice my conduct towards my tenantry or to advise me on the management of my estate, I beg to refer you to Messrs Kinnear, my legal advisers.'<sup>55</sup> The Rev. Paterson made one more attempt to ease the plight of his Shapinsay elders but persisted with a high moral tone to which Balfour (no doubt further aggrieved) did not reply. It states (in full),

In penning your note of the 3<sup>rd</sup> curr., which I have the honour to receive, you seem to have forgotten that we have as really an interest in the people of Shapinsay as you have. You are their landlord, having your rights and duties: - we are their spiritual overseers, having our rights and duties also; and we wrote to you not to advise you in the management of your estate, but to complain of encroachment.

When we ascertain that the encroachment has been made without your direction we shall be ready to apply to your legal advisers or to any other party to whom you may be pleased to refer us.

I little thought we should ever be committed to a struggle for religious liberty in Shapinsay.<sup>56</sup>

Whatever the tone of Paterson's letter, subsequent minutes of his Presbytery show that the evictions were carried out and that by the 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1848 only Magnus Shearer and James Meason remained on Shapinsay as elders of the U.P.

---

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter 1, p.64, footnote 124.

<sup>55</sup> NAS, CH3/250/1, Minutes of the Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, p. 369, recording a letter of 3 August 1847 from D.Balfour, Clifdale House, Shapinsay.

<sup>56</sup> O.A., Balfour papers, D2/15/7, letter of 30 September 1847 from the Rev. Dr. R.Paterson to D.Balfour.

Church.<sup>57</sup> James Reid had signed a draft letter of apology, together with Magnus Shearer, which had been drawn up by Calder but in spite of the latter's belligerent behaviour, Meason had not been asked to sign. The religious zeal of William Peace, however, seems to have played a role in his eviction for Calder had this to say in a classic use of the factorial power of silent coercion, 'I have as yet done nothing about the Elders, they are still enjoying the pleasures of uncertainty. J.Reid of Ness is to make an ample written apology. I suspect there is too much spiritual pride about Mr. Peace to do so. However one shall see bye and bye.'<sup>58</sup> In yet another one of his letters to Mrs Balfour, Calder has this to say, 'I have today set one of their farms-Frustigarth- the one occupied by Meason.'<sup>59</sup> Meason's survival is the most controversial. The present day owner of Frustigarth farm, Kenneth Meason, has no written evidence of the Trenabie Estate's reversal of intention and can only speculate that the situation of his ancestor's farm (and that of Magnus Shearer) was not crucial to the early grid system laid-out at the 'squaring'.<sup>60</sup> However, it is interesting that James Meason was related (second-cousin) to the Meason's of Rothiesholm, Stronsay who were allies of the Earls of Zetland. Notwithstanding Balfour's antipathy for his Superior, he may have judged it inadvisable to engage in any dispute with the Dundas Earldom based on a personal relationship. By February 1848, therefore, Peter and William Peace, William Sketheway and William Work had all vacated their homes with William Peace's letter to Balfour a fitting and sad postscript to the 'promiscuous dancing' affair;

---

<sup>57</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, minute of 23 February 1848.

<sup>58</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 27 May 1847 from M. Calder to Mrs E. Balfour, Eyemouth.

<sup>59</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 28 June 1847 from M. Calder to Mrs E. Balfour, Eyemouth.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Mr.K. Meason at Frustigarth farm on the 25<sup>th</sup> September 1997. Frustigarth slopes gently towards the Bay of Crook, watered by a stream that formerly powered a water-mill. This 30-acre farm was drained but not enlarged throughout David Balfour's stewardship (1846-1887).

I received your note of the 14<sup>th</sup> intimating my removal in the terms of the summons served upon me.

I feel sorry no doubt at leaving the place of my Nativity, but feel far more on account of my aged and infirm parents.

I have no doubt that the cause is because I have acted conscientiously as an Elder and I leave the place without the slightest regret of having acted so.<sup>61</sup>

No further mention is made of the evictions, or the ‘promiscuous dancing’ affair, until a minute of the 10<sup>th</sup> April 1850 in which James Meason is ‘enjoined to investigate’ a similar case. His report, on the 20<sup>th</sup> April, states that the Presbytery is to be asked for advice in dealing with the offenders. A case of ‘once bitten, twice shy’!<sup>62</sup>

### **The impotence of religious dissent on Shapinsay**

The political impotence displayed in the previous section is mirrored in the complaisant attitude of the moderate Church of Scotland ministers on Shapinsay, John Barry and (from the 14<sup>th</sup> April 1846 to 1871) Thomas Scott. There is a total absence of any reference to the upheavals, both spiritual and physical, in their kirk session minutes. Although their attendant membership during this period remained at an average of eighty every Sunday, the Rev. Scott was no doubt heartened by Balfour’s attendance at his services and by the ‘defection’ of Reid and Frisken.<sup>63</sup> The addition of James Fullerton, William Jolly, Peter Campbell, Sinclair McAdie and James McRobbie, all ‘established churchmen’ and new recruits with improving

---

<sup>61</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 19 October 1847 from W. Peace to D. Balfour.

<sup>62</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the Presbytery of the U.P. Church, minutes of 10 April 1850 & 20 April 1850.

<sup>63</sup> O.A., 27/1, hand-written note (possibly by Marcus Calder) states simply ‘James Reid of Ness Farm has joined another church.’

credentials, was doubtless a great solace to the Kirk.<sup>64</sup> The silence of their rivals in the U.P., however, is not so easy to understand. Thomson has claimed that,

centuries of hard-fisted exploitation had destroyed any paternal or clan relationship. Orkney lairds had a reputation for being grasping business men, patronising and autocratic in dealings with their inferiors. The attitude of the tenant was, at best, one of wary suspicion but often a sullen subservience concealed smouldering hostility... Yet the tenant's hostility was seldom of a revolutionary kind.<sup>65</sup>

If this is an accurate assessment of Shapinsay's U.P. tenantry, faced by a proprietor who was determined to reform his estate from top to bottom with no interference from Voluntarist sentiment or posturing clerics, then the absence of direct comment in their kirk session minutes is an indication of Brown's 'changing social conditions.'<sup>66</sup>

The above mentioned U.P. session-notes display no evidence of religious fervour or Voluntarist sentiments so it is probable that the Rev. Brown viewed social comment as unfit material for a record of the spiritual endeavours of his congregation. During the period 1849-65 they acknowledge that they are a 'congregation beset on every side with hostile influences', and are concerned at, 'the distressed state of the congregation of Shapinsay, arising from emigration and other causes.'<sup>67</sup> These were not, however, permanent setbacks. By 1865 Shapinsay's U.P. membership had risen again to a respectable 215 and its Sunday school attendance figures show a similarly healthy roll.<sup>68</sup> It appears, from these minutes, that Machin is correct in inferring that they were more interested in 'non-intrusion' in their dealings

---

<sup>64</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 7 October 1847 from J.Kinnear to D.Balfour. This is a letter of reference for McRobbie who is also 'of good address and appearance' and 'was in business of his own account'.

<sup>65</sup> Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters*, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> C.G.Brown, *Religion & Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 28-9.

<sup>67</sup> NAS, CH3/1099 and CH3/250/1, minutes of 23 July 1851 and 7 April 1852.

<sup>68</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, minute of 31 December 1865, 'the blessed renewal of religion.'



with outside authorities while privately adhering to their Voluntarist principles.<sup>69</sup> No reference to its problems can be found in the half-yearly minutes of the Synod of the U.P. Church (held in Edinburgh) although moderator Brown and an assisting elder attended every session during their terms of office. It appears that missions to convert Roman Catholics in the industrial jungle of North Lanarkshire were taken more seriously by the synodians.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps Thomson has the last word on these controversies when he asserts that the U.P. were, 'quiescent as long as agricultural prosperity lasted.'<sup>71</sup>

### **A quiescent tenantry?**

Appendixes A and J survey the movement, and the stability, of Shapinsay's population. The occupation, by long standing Shapinsay farming families, of nearly 90 per cent of the island's pasturage is alluded to earlier in this chapter as was David Balfour's 'opportunism'. Leaving aside the evicted families from the former Shoreside Village (the fishing family of Sketheway and the 'wright' Peace with his family and parents) Balfour's social engineering had swept away upwards of sixty old tenancies (see Index J), resettling the majority on the smaller improved farms but reserving the larger units (upwards of 120 acres) for farmers with previous experience of farms of this size. Thus James Reid was settled with his large family and four servants in the 106 acre Hollandstoun farm of Gorn (soon to be renamed Monquhanny, the Balfour's ancestral home in Fife). John Dennison, formerly the farmer at Weiland, was given Ness farm which was being enlarged to 120 acres.

<sup>69</sup> G.I.T.Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, (Oxford, 1977), pp. 135-7.

<sup>70</sup> NAS, CH3/250/2, Minutes of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, minutes of 25 July 1856 and 30 September 1857 are rich in detail over proposed committees for these actions.

<sup>71</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 394.

Experienced incomers like George Frisken (senior), James Fullerton and William Jolly were established in, respectively, Waltness (220 acres), Strathore (200 acres) and Westhill (106 acres).<sup>72</sup> The ejected elder, William Work, had been the previous tenant at Waltness and whether Balfour had intended to move him to another, smaller, experimental farm is pure conjecture. However, Magnus Calder's letters to Eleanor Balfour, quoted above, make it abundantly clear that quiescence was a condition of new or renewed tenancies. James Reid was 'a good farmer' in Calder's own words and James Meason had been 'forgiven'.<sup>73</sup> Magnus Shearer had also survived but like Meason his Quoybanks farm was not extended beyond its original 25 acres. James Shearer had already emigrated to Adelaide, Australia.<sup>74</sup>

David Balfour's tenants refrained from physical resistance to these innovations, perhaps aware of the treatment given to the kelp rioters on Stronsay in the previous century, but also possibly cowed by the fate of the evicted U.P. elders in 1847.<sup>75</sup> The prospect of following their peers into exile was even less appealing. Rancour, however, still remained and anecdotal evidence from the great-grandson of U.P. elder James Meason supports this, as follows, 'They (the Balfour's) took our land over from the Dundas people and we didn't get it back until 1926 when my grandfather bought the farm from them. Buying back your own land seems like robbery to me. You can see the bones of our old community all around.'<sup>76</sup> However,

---

<sup>72</sup> Appendix A, The population of Shapinsay, and Appendix J, Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisans/Labourers.

<sup>73</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 4 July 1847 from M. Calder to Mrs.E. Balfour, Eyemouth.

<sup>74</sup> Appendix J, Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers.

<sup>75</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 407 and W.P.L. Thomson, *Kelp-making in Orkney*, (Kirkwall, 1983), pp. 74-85.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Kenneth Meason at Frustigarth farm on 25 September 1997. 'Our old community' refers to the verge of the old East Hill Common and the half-dozen small holdings now occupied by 'incomers'.

the steady progression of the 'squarings', the enlarged fields and the new L-shaped or rectangular stone farm buildings were certainly a material improvement on the majority of the pre-1850's holdings of the Bishopric Estate described by Barlas in 1845.<sup>77</sup> Now located on better drained land, forbidden to dump their dung at the cottage door (or throw it into the sea) and with seven foot ceilings, separate rooms from byre and barn, proper hearths and a stone or brick 'lum' protruding from a slated roof, the new tenants had to conform to their laird's architectural sensibilities and learn to prosper.

The new tenancies of 30 to 220 acres were of course built up progressively over a number of years. Six-year rotation farming cannot commence in one season and holders of the, as yet, unimproved farms continued to farm and fish in the time-honoured ways with a few notable exceptions (the bigger farms who already practised a primitive form of rotation). The time-consuming gathering of in-shore seaweed with inefficient horse transport was discontinued as was the free-ranging pasturing of cattle, sheep and pigs on the shrinking ex-Commonly land. Kelp burning had never been as popular in Shapinsay as on Westray, Sanday, Stronsay or Burray where lacklustre proprietors had overstretched themselves on extravagant living based on the unsound earnings of kelp.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Shapinsay's reputation for arable fertility was often attributed to the absence of a large kelp-gathering cottar class who were held to neglect agriculture on other Orcadian islands in preference for the cash-crop from the shore. Foden, accepting the importance of kelp in the local economy,

---

<sup>77</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Report to Her Majesties Commissioners for Woods, Fields and Rivers. The concluding paragraph, p. 24, is extremely critical of the houses in East Hollandstoun.

<sup>78</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 58-64 and Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 360-362.

nevertheless concludes that, 'There are grounds for believing that the ease with which the lairds gained their extra wealth during the kelp boom was a factor in delaying investment in improved agriculture.'<sup>79</sup> This, of course, was not true of the Trenabie Estate post-1847 with the pressure for improvement being relentlessly applied by Marcus Calder. New seed, for 'green' as well as cereal crops, was distributed by the factor on the credit of the first phase (usually five years) of the new performance leases.<sup>80</sup> Lime, which was to transform the sandstone based soils and quadruple yields of red clover, grass and turnips within the next decade, was liberally spread on the same cost basis. The 'carrot and stick' approach of the Trenabie Estate would, based on the renewal of 95% of the new leases, appear successful in allaying anxiety in what now appeared to be a thoroughly quiescent tenantry.<sup>81</sup>

### **The new science of agriculture.**

The new science of agriculture promoted by Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster in Pitt's innovative Board of Agriculture had been effectively 'rooted' in the intellect of David Balfour's generation by the lectures of Professor Andrew Coventry at Edinburgh University's pioneering School of Agriculture.<sup>82</sup> The library of Balfour Castle has already been mentioned above in its capacity as a repository of nineteenth-century agricultural science, from the chemical theories of Leibeg to the (anonymous) volumes on farm architecture.<sup>83</sup> David Balfour's predecessors on

---

<sup>79</sup> F.D. Foden, 'Seaweed', Newsletter Number 20, *The Orcadian View*, (Kirkwall, 1998), p. 14.

<sup>80</sup> A copy of a fifteen-year performance related lease is included in Appendix O.

<sup>81</sup> Appendix I, Location of Tenancies on Shapinsay (1841-91).

<sup>82</sup> J.E. Handley, *The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1963), 98-101. Sir John Sinclair was president of the Board of Agriculture from its inception, in 1793, until 1813. Andrew Coventry is mentioned in footnote 49, Chapter 2 (above).

<sup>83</sup> Appendix M, List of nineteenth-century publications in Balfour Castle Library, Shapinsay.



Shapinsay had made improvements at Sound 'to stay the same' and had concentrated on cereal production, seasonal fishing and ill-maintained, underweight, cattle.<sup>84</sup> David Balfour's new army of specialists were now reversing this policy as Shapinsay's physical and chthonic amenities were brought into line for large-scale stock rearing.<sup>85</sup> Early progress in persuading farmers to abandon their low-yield crops was essential if Orkney's pelagic climate was to be combated and the importation of additional feed stuffs avoided in poor seasons. This applied in particular to bere (*Hordeum vulgare*) and black oats (*Avena strigosa*) which were popular in runrig agriculture for their ability to withstand 'shaking' in Orkney's Autumn gales.<sup>86</sup> Bere-meal bannocks, the staple diet in good seasons, survived to become a local delicacy but the days of the standard 4lb loaf (an expensive commodity at 7d against 4d per pound for cheese and 3d per pound of beef) became a reality when Magnus Russell opened his grocery shop at Newhouse in 1853.<sup>87</sup> Another victim of the new agriculture was the planticrue, a tight circular dry-stone enclosure for the nurturing of kail (the walls had to be high enough to exclude wild sheep). The removal of any obstacle, human or material, from the path of the ditcher's steel ploughs, was ruthlessly expedited.<sup>88</sup> The old estate of Sound was the first to suffer, and benefit, from this radical approach. Eventually intended to be self-supporting, the Balfour Castle policies and Balfour Mains farm were extending towards an acreage of 700 and a staff of fifty. Model dairies, milking parlours and

---

<sup>84</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours 1747-99*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>85</sup> Chthonic is the term which best describes the ground and the earth beneath (Greek = ground). As this term also applies to the underworld and the deities inhabiting it, chthonic can be taken to mean ghostly.

<sup>86</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 332-336.

<sup>87</sup> O.A., D57, Ledgers of Magnus Russell of Newhouse.

<sup>88</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 296-303. The replacement of the stilt-plough by steel implements was gradual in Orkney. J.A. Symon, *Scottish Farming*, (Edinburgh, 1959),

creameries, underground middens and modern ventilation were introduced to Orkney for the first time.<sup>89</sup>

### **The re-allocation of Shapinsay's tenanted farms.**

The Censuses of 1841 to 1881 reveal an upward progression of native and migrant farmers, and sometimes former farm labourers, from small 'apprentice' farms to the bigger units on the best situated and drained land in Shapinsay. The expanding Balfour Mains, Strathore, Waltness and Ness farms are mentioned above (on page 134) but the families of Bews, Craigie, Scott and Sinclair also farmed increasingly large farms with progressively longer leases.<sup>90</sup> The remaining fishing families, with or without small holdings, were allowed to remain in their poorly drained coastal enclaves and the twenty-eight households at Balfour Village were allocated, meticulously divided, front and back kitchen gardens to supplement their modest earnings.<sup>91</sup> Thirlage had by now been abandoned although the ownership of Elwick

---

underlines the advantages of this improved technology and its place in the canon of 'improving' literature in nineteenth-century Orkney.

<sup>89</sup> Visit by D.Barker to Balfour Mains farm (renamed in 1852 from Sound) on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1997. Built with a south-facing courtyard, this impressive model farm has two-storied offices topped by a bell-tower and three wings containing milking parlour and creamery. The revolutionary (for Orkney) features were underground silage pits, animal urine drains and specially aired, high, drying barns. A two-story, detached, dwelling house was constructed for the resident grieve.

<sup>90</sup> O.A., National Census, Orkney, sheet 28-Shapinsay; D34/D/4/2, Rent Roll of Samuel Laing of Papdale. The Craigies migrated to Shapinsay from Egilsay in 1828. Originally owned by the Laing of Papdale Estate, it was unusual in its 19-year lease at £25/10// per annum for a forty-acre farm. Under the Trenabie Estate it was gradually expanded to 140 acres at an annual rent of £65 for twenty-five years. D1/5/1, rent books of Haroldsgarth farm. In 1872 William Craigie, the former ploughman at Haroldsgarth farm, renewed his twenty-year lease for this 43-acre farm at £24 per annum and paid 12/- income tax on his earnings from beef cattle. The Bews of Parkhall saw their farm expand from 12 acres (in 1851) to 80 acres in 1871. Their 18-year lease cost £14 per annum in 1871. The Sinclairs of Lucknow farm had migrated from Stronsay and worked their way up from quarrymen to farmers of 50 acres at an annual rental of £17. The Scotts of Quoymoorhouse farm had seen their 'twa-beeld' holding expanded to 90 acres by 1870, paying an annual rent of £50.

<sup>91</sup> S.Garson, 'Balfour Village', (BA, Cultural Studies, Aberdeen University, 2002), p. 3.

and Burness mills meant that any domestic corn or meal had to be ground at the laird's pleasure.<sup>92</sup>

The smaller tenants, and fishermen in particular, were not allowed to stagnate in their 8-10 acre holdings. William Balfour had extended his little fleet of fishing yoles, inherited from his uncle Thomas, to include sloops, a small coaster and a yacht. David Balfour continued the profitable (but declining) line-fishing for cod and ling. Seasonal herring was still a valuable domestic food source but Balfour's 'sailors' were now expected to concentrate more on cattle exports and essential imports, not excluding the considerable cargoes of precious items for the furnishing of Balfour Castle.<sup>93</sup> Ships'-carpenters, wrights and sailmakers continued to feature in the Parish records and estate rent rolls of the mid-1800's but the first sign of social demarcation begins to appear with skippers, and David Balfour's yachtmaster, now housed in separate accommodation from the rest of Balfour Village.<sup>94</sup> This, however, was not the result of Balfour's self-conceit for by the 1840s Kirkwall had a regular steam connection with Aberdeen and Leith. The "Velocity" and the "Sovereign" not only shortened the sailing times to these ports but it trebled the cargo capacity in any one week. The success of this service brought further vessels into use and eventually allowed beef exporters to fatten their cattle on Orkney.<sup>95</sup> These changes lessened the

---

<sup>92</sup> Thirlage, or multure, was formerly the right of the landowner to charge one tenth of every ground crop for the compulsory use of his mill.

<sup>93</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay. From 1851 onwards the description 'sailor' appears on the description of tenants at Balfour Village. O.A., Balfour papers, D2/16/45, letter of 31 October 1847 from D. Balfour to Coutts Bank, London. This letter refers to an account set up specifically for the purchase of art treasures for Balfour Castle. The preferred period is that of Leo X with a number of purchases already being sent from Florence to Moubray in Leith for onward shipment.

<sup>94</sup> Parish records of Birth, Marriage and Death for Shapinsay, housed at Girmigeo farm. O.A., Balfour papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L).

<sup>95</sup> The "Velocity" made its maiden voyage in 1833. A regular summer service was inaugurated in 1836 by the paddle-steamer "Sovereign" and by 1847 there were three sailings per week between Kirkwall and Aberdeen/Leith. O.A., D2/4/8, miscellaneous letters to the Commissioner of Supply (D. Balfour) list the coastal trade to and from Kirkwall. These figures will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 4.

costs to beef producers by allowing them to fatten their beasts on their own grass in Orkney and thereby saving the expense of feeding *en route* (in addition to adding weight to the carcass). Transport from Elwick Bay to Kirkwall was a relatively safe, short crossing of four miles for Balfour's sloops, although journeys to Norway or Scotland involved the negotiation of difficult tide races around Orkney's southern and eastern approaches.<sup>96</sup> The three weekly journals which were widely read in Orkney (*The John o' Groat Journal*, *The Orcadian* and *The Orkney Herald*) give a comprehensive picture of this commercial growth, together with a progressive increase in the value of exported carcasses, milk products, eggs, barley (increasingly used in the new distilleries in Speyside) and shellfish.<sup>97</sup>

The internal infrastructure of Shapinsay was just as important and indeed, was facilitated by the new grid system of field division. Utilising these divisions, and the natural spine of the island, it was possible to bring every farm within no more than a quarter of a mile from the nearest new road. The Ordnance Survey map of 1879 shows the final state of David Balfour's efforts and the location of all 115 farms in this grid system.<sup>98</sup> The overall impression, excepting the cluster of smaller crofts close to Hacosness and those west of Frustigarth, is of a lack of fermtouns and an equal spread of farm buildings across the island. The impression of a floating farming-factory with its arterial roads and deep-water harbour, has remained to this day. The improved sea connections, wider roads and improved drainage all added to

---

<sup>96</sup> The String has already been described in Chapter 1, page 1. The eastern entrance to the Pentland Firth and the passage round Stronsay into the North Sea were often a considerable risk for sailing vessels. In the newly completed Balfour Castle (1848), David Balfour had a platform built in his study which gave an unrivalled view of all shipping entering and leaving Kirkwall harbour.

<sup>97</sup> Although *The Orkney Herald* is sadly defunct (1960), *The Orcadian* (founded in November 1854) and *The John o' Groat Journal* (1836) have continued to serve the communities of Orkney and Caithness. Initially supportive of the land-owning interest, they gradually became more attuned to the desires and opinions of a wider public.

<sup>98</sup> Appendix S, Shapinsay today, displays David Balfour's grid.



the natural asset of Elwick Bay that Balfour was careful to exploit. In the course of the next twenty years (1850-1870) he expended considerable capital on heightening the quays, building a new light-tower and even building a sea-water douche in a special tower close to the harbour.<sup>99</sup> The re-located tenants were not neglected, however, as the small gasworks situated at the other end of Balfour Village provided gas lighting for the whole village and surrounding area. In addition to providing lighting for laird and villager it provided a living for the Bell family for more than a generation and boosted the coal imports of the Russell's at Newhouse.<sup>100</sup>

### **An island community geared for prosperity.**

David Balfour's business matrix was beginning to take shape by the mid-1850's with only the nagging problem of permanent transport infrastructures to be solved. Although steamships now plied regularly between Kirkwall and Leith, the packet from Scrabster (Caithness) to Stromness was unsuitable for cargo or stock. In addition there was a total lack of satisfactory roads on Mainland Orkney connecting Stromness with Kirkwall and other communities. Nonetheless he had no intention of relaxing the relentless pressure on his tenants to improve their farming enterprise and prosper. It was a nineteenth-century commonplace that certain trades and occupations were 'unworthy' and the contrast between Balfour policy and tenant preference has been shown above. In the aftermath of the 1832 Reform Act landlords

---

<sup>99</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D15/7/1. Plans of the Balfour bathhouse or 'sea-douche' tower, completed in 1856. In a style similar to the 'cottage' atop Pollock House, Edinburgh, the 'douche' combined the unique features of saltwater bathhouse, icehouse and watch-tower.

<sup>100</sup> William Bell, David Balfour's 'gasman', had farmed at Elwick (1841-46) prior to the 'squaring'. After a short spell in the gas industry in Edinburgh he returned to Shapinsay in 1855 to run the islands' coal-gas works.

may have feared an acceleration of radical demands, or even insurrection, but they could not ignore the social changes which their 'improvements' were creating all over rural Scotland. Divisions in the land-owning vote at Westminster is clear in this extract from a letter to Balfour from a colleague in the Lothians,

knowing your political opinions I could never have thought of applying to run, if anyone of the same opinions had been a candidate but that not being the case and Mr.Dundas's much more nearly approaching your opinions, than the Radical candidate...I thought I might venture approaching you for his...<sup>101</sup>

Whether or not, as Thomson has insisted 'the authority of the laird was weakened by economic diversity', it is inconceivable that by 1850 David Balfour viewed his future with anything less than confidence.<sup>102</sup>

A successful 'floating' commercial farm business would, of course, be highly profitable for the Trenabie Estate but improved crop yields, fatter cattle, long-term leases and a pliant tenancy could not disguise the demographic impact of these advances.<sup>103</sup> The subsistence industries of straw-plaiting, basket-weaving and kelp-burning were now banished. Age-old skills such as rope-making (simmins) and roofing were disappearing, flax cultivation had been rejected and fishing no longer sustained a large number of households.<sup>104</sup> These were all 'suspect' occupations in Balfour's opinion, diverting large numbers of his tenants from more gainful, and useful, employment and weakening the levers of social control. Improve and prosper

<sup>101</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 21 June 1847 from William Craig, Riccarton, to D.Balfour.

<sup>102</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 407. O.A., Balfour Papers, letter of 30 September 1847 from D. Balfour to J. Chivas, Aberdeen comments, 'my farms still unlet.' This in direct contrast to the letter of 3 January 1848, to J.Kinnear, 'The possession of the whole of Shapinsay is an asset of my position now that I have fixed my residence there by building on it.'

<sup>103</sup> The steady rise in population is mentioned in the introduction to this chapter.

<sup>104</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 181-190 ('Roofing Techniques'), pp. 264-9 ('Ropes and Rope Making') and pp. 260-3 ('Domestic Baskets').

may have been the motto for Shapinsay and the Trenabie Estate as a whole, but if David Balfour did indeed have a 'blueprint' (explored in detail in Chapter 7) in a wider Scottish context, he could not expect his worthy tenants to stand in a social 'waiting-room'. Competition and fashionable theories of utilitarianism were common topics in mid-Victorian discussion and they had, eventually, to lead a hitherto isolated community into a greater awareness of nineteenth-century social mobility and their potential for such advancement. Devine succinctly summarises this movement as follows, 'It was in later decades that the transformation was really set in motion, because only then did major improvements in agricultural productivity, rapid commercialisation and profound alterations in social structure come together to move the rural economy in a quite new direction.'<sup>105</sup> Nearly a century and a half earlier David Balfour would certainly have agreed with these comments, although he would have lamented that in the case of Orkney they were describing a period during the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>105</sup> Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland*, p. 166.

## Chapter Four

### A Healthy Populace: The Welfare of Shapinsay's People.

The high density of Shapinsay's population, in comparison to many neighbouring islands of greater area (Stronsay has twice the land mass and Sanday and Westray, approximately three times), has already been mentioned in Chapters Two and Three. A comparative table (fig.8, below) shows that the natural increase of Orkney's population had reached a plateau by the mid-nineteenth century (it had risen by 31.04% in the thirty years from 1811), with Shapinsay conforming to these statistics (a rise of 28.78%).<sup>1</sup>

YEAR	1811	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881
<u>NORTH ISLES</u>						
EDAY & NORTH FARAY	580	1,011	1,016	979	905	802
EGILSAY & WYRE	---	286	254	278	241	245
NORTH RONALDSAY	384	481	526	532	539	547
PAPA WESTRAY	211	337	371	392	370	345
ROUSAY	795	976	937	874	860	873
SANDAY	1,797	1,892	2,004	2,006	2,053	2,075
SHAPINSAY	726	935	898	973	948	974
STRONSAY & PAPA STRONSAY	864	1,248	1,204	1,228	1,299	1,220
WESTRAY	1,396	1,791	2,088	2,153	2,090	2,190
MAINLAND	12,086	16,216	16,709	17,363	16,707	17,265
<u>SOUTH ISLES</u>						
BURRAY & HUNDA	212	538	564	666	666	693
FLOTTA	---	405	389	420	423	425
GRAEMSAY	190	214	286	230	250	236
HOY & SOUTH FARA	1,366	1,541	1,607	1,580	1,407	1,444
SOUTH RONALDSAY	1,631	2,580	2,465	2,551	2,498	2,548
TOTAL ORKNEY POPULATION	23,238	30,451	31,318	32,225	31,256	31,882

Fig. 8 Comparative populations for Orkney (1811-1881)

<sup>1</sup> Barclay, *The Population of Orkney 1755-1961*, pp.18-23.



In fact these figures played an important role in David Balfour's long-term strategy for Shapinsay. He made frequent mention, in his voluminous correspondence, of the necessity to secure and retain a young, healthy workforce. Typical of these comments, five years into the 'squaring', is the following,

You would not recognise Orkney now- All the old landmarks, social, moral and physical are either removed or in transition. Some of the changes are improvements-many are unmitigated evils. Among the first is the enormous increase of land under cultivation, among the latter the emigration of so large part of the population. I can hardly get labour here at Midlothian wages and this with Free Trade prices is rather severe.<sup>2</sup>

These 'unmitigated evils' could, he believed, be prevented by a balanced agricultural economy with cereal crops playing a subsidiary role alongside seasonal cod catches (for metropolitan markets) and an annual herring harvest of approximately sixty crans.<sup>3</sup> Relying on his own experience (and of course that of his factor Marcus Calder) he was able to disregard the experiments of Traill on Rousay and Sutherland-Graeme at Holm. George William Traill (1792-1847), the 'King of Kumaon', made his reputation as an 'enlightened' administrator in the Himalayan province before returning to Orkney in 1836. Like John Balfour, Traill had made a fortune out of his Indian career and spent much of it on acquiring land, first on the island of Wyre (Viera) and then (in 1841) on Rousay. Before his death in 1847 he executed a 'clearance' of the western pastures of Rousay at Quandale and Outer-Westness; eighty inhabitants were forced out of their cottages and had to settle anew at Sourin on Rousay's north-eastern coast. Quandale and Outer-Westness was cleared of every habitation save the cottage of the shepherd who tended the new sheep-run's 690

---

<sup>2</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 10 January 1852 from D. Balfour to D. Balfour-Ogilvy, Tannadice.

<sup>3</sup> A cran is 37 ½ gallons of fresh, barrelled, herring weighing 3 ½ cwts. The term is derived from the Gaelic '*Crann*' (lit. a barrel).

ewes.<sup>4</sup> Prior to arrival of General Traill-Burroughs, in 1870, the estate was factored by Robert Scarth (c.1795-1879) who had initial success in enclosing the old holdings adjacent to Westness House and in handing the estate a yearly profit of £650-£800. These profits were built, however, on rack-renting for the remaining tenants and on the success of sheep sales. Scarth's overseer, George Learmonth (1859-79), could not find tenants at rents that could match those of David Balfour on Shapinsay, Sanday or Stronsay.<sup>5</sup>

The Sutherland-Graeme Estate at Holm had also raised rents to a high level in the expectation of higher productivity after enclosure and land-drainage. One of David Balfour's predecessors on Shapinsay, Samuel Laing, had advised Alexander Sutherland-Graeme that, 'The first object and leading principle in the management of an estate ought to be to lay out nothing, and to draw in as much as can be fairly and judiciously done by an increase in the rental.'<sup>6</sup> Laing's failure on Shapinsay, and Sutherland-Graeme's lack of success at Holm, have been examined in Chapter Two. Balfour's management strategies were much nearer in application to the recommendations of John Shirreff and Robert Barlas, also outlined in Chapter Two, and the advice of his contemporaries in Caithness.<sup>7</sup> The new, centrally located, farms with their adjacent byres and little windmills, built by the tenant to the laird's specifications (amelioration was received by the tenant at the expiry of his lease) was in total contrast to the makeshift crofts of the evicted tenants of Quandale or Inner-Holm.

---

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters*, pp. 42-45.

<sup>5</sup> Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters*, pp. 52-59. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122 Balfour Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay. The initial rental increases on the Trenabie Estate averaged 50 per cent over the twenty years from 1847.

<sup>6</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 345. Schrank, *An Orcadian Estate*, pp. 68-72.

<sup>7</sup> Sir George Dunbar and Thomas Traill of Castletown. The former had recommended Marcus Calder to David Balfour in May 1846.

### **Early marriage and its relation to productivity and population increase.**

The number of a tenant's family, including resident farm servants, rarely exceeded seven or eight with the exception of the six large farms (200 acres or more) and the laird's home farm of Balfour Mains, which stretched to 500 acres. Given that the original plan for Shapinsay was to 'square' almost all the 7,000 plus acres, it is not difficult to calculate the population density required to work 110 farms. These assumptions do not, of course, include Balfour Mains that carried a staff of fourteen. At the time of the National Census of 1841, Shapinsay had a population of 935 (risen from 809 in the past decade) which held constant until the agrarian crisis of the mid-1880s (see table 1 above) when a decline of 15% per decade set in until the 1960s (population 406).<sup>8</sup> Indeed the two decades which proceeded the 'squaring' saw steady population increase with clear evidence that the continuance of Shapinsay's proto-industries had been able to contain the deprivation of periodic famine caused by cyclical poor weather and the uncertainty of coastal herring and white fish catches.<sup>9</sup> The two decreases in the decennial Census figures (935 to 898 in 1851 and 973 to 948 in 1871) are almost exclusively related to a high mortality rate in the island's octogenarians and the first signs of declining fecundity in the farming community (Appendix D).<sup>10</sup>

In the pre-improvement period, however, the fertility of female spouses cannot be doubted when an average of fifty births per annum for women of child

---

<sup>8</sup> National Census of Population, Orkney, Sheet 28-Shapinsay (reproduced in Appendix A-The Population of Shapinsay). Appendix I, Location of tenancies on Shapinsay (1841-1891).

<sup>9</sup> Barclay, *The Population of Orkney 1755-1961*, pp. 19 and 27.

<sup>10</sup> Appendix F, Graph E – Mortality rates for the Population of Shapinsay, 1830-1875.

bearing age between the years 1831 and 1851, and bearing in mind that farmer's wives on Shapinsay rarely married before the age of twenty-five.<sup>11</sup> When the last famine years of 1832-35, which depressed the number of births for the two following years to eighteen and twelve, are included the annual average of births was 19.9 (excluding the two years, 1836 and 1837, the number increases to 20.07). In the more prosperous years of 'high' farming, 1860-1882, the figure was 24.5 births per annum, giving a mean figure for the two generations of 21.98.<sup>12</sup> The Parish Registers provide no ages for marriage prior to 1855 and it is difficult to substantiate the claims of Thomas and William Balfour that they had encouraged and facilitated early marriage through the establishment of Shoreside Village (renamed Balfour Village in 1847).<sup>13</sup> Equally contentious were the assertions of the United Secession Church that the respectability and virtue of its congregation on Shapinsay was enhanced by the building of its kirk (1832) and manse (1833), which in turn encouraged early marriage.<sup>14</sup> Whether the Secession believed that respectability and virtue were directly connected to early marriage, it is not explicit in their voluminous session notebooks, although the rigor of their disciplinary codes on 'pre-nuptial fornication' certainly drew frequent comment.<sup>15</sup> The Parish records, mentioned above, do not register illegitimate birth and the custom of late christening for infants (often four years after birth) often disguises pre-nuptial births. Writing the introduction to the

---

<sup>11</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay & Appendix C, Annual Marriages for Shapinsay, 1830-1875. Although there were an average of seventy women of child-bearing age in the period 1831-1851, early marriage was rarely contemplated in farming circles and the figure of fifty given in the text, above, corresponds with the norm i.e. women of twenty-five to forty years.

<sup>12</sup> Appendix F, Graph B- Population Graph of Shapinsay (Adult, Juvenile & Child).

<sup>13</sup> Register of Birth, Marriage, and Death at Girnigeo farm, Shapinsay.

<sup>14</sup> Russell, 'The String Disaster of 1822', *The Orcadian View*, 1998.

<sup>15</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the Anti-Burgher Church:1815-1847, and CH3/250/1, Minutes of the Kirkwall Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.



New Statistical Account for Shapinsay, the Rev. John Barry comments on the steady rise in population and boasts, 'there has only been one illegitimate birth in the last three years'.<sup>16</sup> Whether the minister of a declining (Church of Scotland) congregation could speak for the whole of a dissatisfied community is, of course, open to question.

Leaving the contentious issue of pre-nuptial birth to one side, it is remarkable that the mean marriage age of women did not rise, or fall, significantly during our period. At the inception of the first universal parish records for Scotland, in 1855, this figure was 25.53 years. Prior to this date the figure can be estimated (based on the age of the first born and discounting any unrecorded stillborn deaths) at 26.78 for 1851 and 26.07 for 1841. The figure for 1831 is not calculable due to the absence of the mother's age from the birth register.<sup>17</sup> If, however, in 1841 these figures are subject to the withdrawal of fishermen's spouses, then a substantially higher mean of 27.69 is obtained (the mean for fishermen's wives was 21.77). The sample group in both cases is drawn from 116 families, of which thirty-one subsisted from fishing. In 1851 only eleven families lived exclusively from fishing, giving the mean female age at marriage as 29 years. This rise is entirely due to the removal of the younger, able-bodied, families to Balfour Village where their adaptable skills were utilised in the servicing of the new agro-economy. The remaining fishing families were left, undisturbed, in those coastal areas which David Balfour intended to 'square' at a later date. A cheap, locally caught, source of food (invariably 'cuithies' or saith) was obviously a pragmatic solution to possible shortages in the first years of transition to full-rotation farming.

<sup>16</sup> NSA, 1845, vol. XV, Orkney-Shapinsay.

<sup>17</sup> Register of Birth, Marriage and Death for Shapinsay and Appendices B, C & D, Schedules of Births, Marriages and Deaths for Shapinsay: 1830-1885.

### **Estate policy and its effect on family size and income.**

Before turning to the expanding farming community in the aftermath of the 'squaring' it is necessary to examine the consequences of this pragmatic solution. Three sources of inquiry (National Census Reports, the Valuation Rolls of the County of Orkney and the Balfour Estate Rental Book and Valuation Ledger) clearly demonstrate this policy.<sup>18</sup>

The nine 'pockets' that separated the communities of Shapinsay (shared by three distinct administrations) prior to the 'squaring' differed in population numbers, housing and acreage. It is, therefore, necessary to examine each 'pocket' in turn, using an anti-clockwise rotation round the old central and north Hill Commons, with special reference to families who were not displaced by the upheavals of improvement.<sup>19</sup>

### **Sandstoun**

Looking at the south-east corner of Shapinsay, the former tunmal of Sandstoun, it is possible to identify a number of small holdings which survived the upheaval of 1847-51. Cott-on-the-Hill is typical of the type of holding described in the previous paragraph.<sup>20</sup> Although it did not appear in Peterkin's 'Rentals', it was surveyed by William Sutherland in 1844 for the Bishopric Estate (on the assumption that it would gain value by a subsequent division of the East Hill Common). Cott-on-the-Hill had 1.07 acres of arable land and 0.36 acres of pasture for which its tenant paid an annual rent of £1/1/-. Although the Valuation Rolls for the County of Orkney registered it as

---

<sup>18</sup> National Census of Population, 1841-1881 (reproduced in Appendix A); O.A., VR111, Valuation Rolls for the County of Orkney; O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L).

<sup>19</sup> see Chapter 1, p. 8, fig. 2, Location of farms within the nine 'pockets'.

<sup>20</sup> Appendix S, Shapinsay today. Cot-on-hill is located in the south-east corner.

a 'new cott' in 1864, its rent was only increased to £1/10/- when the tenant, John Moodie, was replaced in that year by John Scott. Fishing had supplanted kelp and straw-plaiting before that date and was the Moodie's main source of income. Scott's tenancy coincided with the second phase of drainage and re-alignment in that area, when he acquired three 10-acre fields and could support a family of seven and pay an annual rent of £4 (fifteen years lease from 1874).<sup>21</sup>

The neighbouring farm of Quoymoorhouse enjoyed a situation much closer to the Shapinsay Sound than Cott-on-the-Hill, and much of the old fertile tunmal land. Nevertheless, coastal fishing was still a necessity for farms with slightly more acreage (twenty-seven acres) and although Quoymoorhouse gradually expanded its acreage onto the old East Hill Common it was not large enough to sustain one family by farming alone. Existing as a 'twa-beeld' holding for co-tenants William Michael and John Scott (not the tenant at Cott-on-the-Hill), the 1851 Rental shows twenty-seven acres registered to Michael and thirty-seven acres to Scott. Michael had only one dependant, his sixty-three year old sister, and retained a male farm servant and a female herder. It is probable that he was principally occupied on the old quoy grassland on the edge of the East Hill Common (the retention of a herder was not usual on cereal farms).<sup>22</sup> Scott, his co-tenant, supported a family of eight but could count on all of them to work his thirty-seven acres (the tenant was fifty-six years old in 1851, while his widowed sister had offspring of twenty-three, twenty, nineteen, sixteen and twelve years. Scott senior was eighty-five years old). When the acreage

---

<sup>21</sup> A. Peterkin, *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 1820), pp. 45-6. NAS, RHP 2891-7, Surveys of the Bishopric Estate on Shapinsay by W.R. Sutherland. O.A., D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger (Appendix L).

<sup>22</sup> Quoys, see Appendix P, (Glossary of Weights, Measures & Terminology), were originally used to gather in cows for milking from the moor pasture outside the ring-dyke. They paid no skat or teind until they were eventually brought into the land valued for rent.

was expanded to ninety (in 1856) 'twa-beeld' farming ceased and the rent rose from a combined £18 to £40 per annum. John Scott became the sole tenant, allowing his whole extended family to concentrate on farming.

This transformation, however, was the exception in Sandstoun whether the tenant was a blacksmith (John Nicolson at Sandston Cottage with two unmarried sisters employed at the nearby Haroldsgarth farm as farm-labourers) or a small-holder (John Irvine at Sanger, aged seventy-nine, with two middle-aged sons). All had to rely on the 'cuithies' until the later decades of the century. Only the larger farms like Howe (expanded from fifty-seven to 100 acres), Hollandsgarth (twenty-five to forty-five acres), Staquoy (thirty to forty-five acres) and the above mentioned Quoymoorhouse, were able to retain the whole family on the farm and employ additional labour. Although longer-term leases were introduced for the smaller holdings it is noticeable that these tended not to exceed five years in duration against the twenty-one year average for the larger farms.<sup>23</sup>

As stated above (in Chapter 3), the crucial test of viability in the new farming economy of the 1850s was the ability to maintain at least three large ten acre fields and allow some form of fallow in a minimum of five acres per year. The rotation system preferred by David Balfour is described in a letter to Dr. Omand of the Highland Society as follows,

Almost all these farms have been relet to their former tenants, on leases from 6 to 10 years, building them to lay over, in each year, 1/6 parts of their possession with green crops, and another sixth with sown grass- and each farm is accordingly subdivided by ditches into 6 equal breaks adapted to the six different shifts.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> O.A., D2/122 (and Appendix L), Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger.

<sup>24</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 8 February 1848 from D. Balfour to Dr. Omand.



Prior to the 'squaring' several farms at Sandstoun had enjoyed much larger uncultivated acreage for their free-ranging livestock. Quoymoorhouse had been assessed in 1844, by the old Bishopric Estate, at 104.5 acres with a total of 73.81 acres measured as 'moor pasture'. The 'Allotment of Common' was 388.21 acres for the whole tunmal and the whole area had been free of skat and teind.<sup>25</sup> It is impossible to give an exact number to the small horses, pigs, sheep and cattle, although frequent mention is given to them from sources as diverse as Barry, the O.S.A., or Fenton.<sup>26</sup> Given that Scott and Michael at Quoymoorhouse, Nicolson at Cott-on-the-Hill, Irvine at Sandsgarth, Scott at Purtaquoy and Liddle at Nousthouse (later absorbed into the farm of Hacosness) all had the use of this 'Allotment' with as little as 47.65 acres arable between them (64.4% belonged to Quoymoorhouse alone), it is easy to understand why the harvest of six households can have been insufficient, even after good summers. The inshore catches contributed by various members of these families did not allow any surplus for export and can not be found in the Trenabie Estate accounts for the period.<sup>27</sup>

Two other factors contributed to the poor potential of the Sandstoun area. These were, and still are, the rough nature of the terrain with its enormous sheets of sandstone (hamars) jutting eastwards from the lochan strewn moor, and a depth of the peat rarely experienced in Orkney outside the island of Eday. The 'skinning' of this surface, for animal bedding and fertiliser, had added another negative factor to a terrain that has never been surrendered to the plough or deep drain.<sup>28</sup> Against such a

<sup>25</sup> NSA, RHP 2896, Sandstoun, Shapinsay.

<sup>26</sup> Barry, *History of the Orkney Isles*, p. 48; OSA, vol. XIX, Orkney & Shetland, Shapinsay-cover sheet; Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 446-8.

<sup>27</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/23, Balfour Account Books, 1833-40.

<sup>28</sup> D.A. Davidson and I.A. Simpson, 'Soils and Landscape History: Case Studies from the Northern Isles of Scotland', Foster and Smout (eds.), *The History of Soils & Field Systems*, pp. 68-73.

background of poor potential it is interesting to examine the nuptial ages of Sandstoun's tenants. Totalling eleven families, most of whom do not appear in the estate rentals until after the 'squaring', a variety of occupations had been fostered by a necessary self-sufficiency. With a blacksmith at Tew (Sandston), a carpenter at Waterslap (Scarpigarth), three fishing families (Little Sandsgarth, Sandsgarth and Nousthouse) and six farming families (Meikle Sandsgarth, Little Sandsgarth, Mounthoolie, Purtaquoy, Cott-on-the-Hill and Quoymoorhouse) it is possible to contrast the ages of nuptiality and the intervals between births in this 'pocket'.

The mean nuptial age of the three fishing wives is twenty-four and for the six farming spouses it is thirty-three. The intervals in birth in the fishing families are constant at two years against four years for the farm children. In addition all three fishing families supplemented their earnings by piece-work at straw-plaiting or stocking-knitting (at an average wage of 4/- per annum).<sup>29</sup> The income derived from these activities did not compensate for the loss of kelp-burning employment that ended at Sandstoun in 1838. The intervals of birth in the two artisan families followed the same pattern as that for the farming families, reflecting the longer period required to establish an income against the uncertainty of a fishing income and the perceived necessity to rear children at an earlier (nuptial) age. Finally fishing was usually carried out in yoles crewed largely by close family members who took young or juvenile relatives to sea, giving the latter an earlier opportunity to support a new family. Nevertheless accidents at sea do not feature prominently in the estate papers of the period (excluding the String incident in 1822) and the National Census Reports and Register of Births, Marriages and Death, show little discontinuity in the

---

<sup>29</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D9/5, (Appendix N) Straw-plaiting Records for Shapinsay, 1833-38.

eleven afore- mentioned families. In the absence of causes of death, prior to 1855, it is also difficult to analyse the effects of dietary deficiency on the health of these individuals. From 1855-1875 illnesses related to such deficiencies, intestinal and bowel diseases, are infrequent which points to a balanced diet and an avoidance of unwashed 'starvation food' (limpets and mussels torn from rock-pools). Death from pulmonary tuberculosis (the 'white death') or dropsy, the most frequent causes of adult mortality, was not of course related directly to the islanders' occupations. However, it is possible that the inhalation of the acrid fumes from kelp fires did, prior to 1838, contribute to the early death of a number of female 'kelpers'.<sup>30</sup>

Advancing a decade into the transitional stage of Shapinsay's transformation, there appears little change in the composition of Sandstoun's families. A contraction to ten families shows only one adult listed as a fisherman (William Nicolson, second son of the blacksmith at Tew) with nine holdings assessed at five to twenty acres plus Quoymoorhouse still a 'twa-beeld' at sixty-four acres.<sup>31</sup> The annual Martinmas rents (the new performance leases were initially offered only to the larger improved farms) were now exponential from £1 for five acres to £5 for fifteen acres and £10 for twenty acres. The combined rent for Quoymoorhouse had been raised to £18. Whether Sandstoun's tenants were influenced by David Balfour's well known opinion of fishing as an 'unworthy' occupation or they had been impressed by the new farms rising to the north and west, it is noteworthy that all are now listed as

---

<sup>30</sup> The kelp fires, usually fuelled by peat, were often situated in rows close to the shore. The kelp pits were shallow and the damp seaweed was piled into them by a three-woman team who were exposed to the acrid smoke and fumes for long periods, often for twelve hours a day in a two-month season. Although these fumes were not toxic, it is not inconceivable that this exposure was detrimental to the womens' health. No kelp was produced on Shapinsay after the unsuccessful 'harvest' of 1838.

<sup>31</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay 1833-1891.

‘farmer’ with only second sons described as ‘fisherman’.<sup>32</sup> The Balfour Papers also confirm that rents did not rise immediately after the proprietor’s assumption of control and that they did not eventually climb above 40 to 45% with only Sandsgarth (expanded from twenty to twenty-seven acres), Mounthoolie (fifteen to twenty acres) and Quoymoorhouse, facing increases of 100 to 125%. It is also possible that these small tenants were influenced by more than the visible effects of improved farming and would have agreed with Thomson’s observation, ‘While there might be strong initial opposition to the kind of improvements carried out by Balfour and Fortesque, tenants quickly discovered that there were profits for themselves in the new methods of farming.’<sup>33</sup>

### **East Hollandstoun**

Moving anti-clockwise round Shapinsay’s enclaves (the map which illustrates Lord Henry Sinclair’s 1492 Rental of Orkney is reproduced as fig.9, below) it is informative to observe that little advance in agricultural acreage had occurred in the intervening three and a half centuries. This is perfectly illustrated by crossing the old East Hill Common to the enclave of East Hollandstoun (marked g and h on the map), situated on sloping ground at the Bay of Crook.<sup>34</sup> The Sutherland survey of 1844 (see page 152, footnote 21) identified thirteen separate tenancies plus

<sup>32</sup> Ibid and O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122Balfour Estate Rental & Valuation Ledger (Appendix L).

<sup>33</sup> Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, p. 335. Archer Fortescue bought the Swanbister Estate at Orphir, Mainland, in 1845 and transformed it with deep ploughed drains and a novel manure made from decomposed dogfish and sillocks. Like David Balfour he was an avid enthusiast of farm improvement.

<sup>34</sup> W.P.L. Thomson, *Lord Henry Sinclair’s 1492 Rental of Orkney*, (Kirkwall, 1996), p. 74. The blank area between Hollands Town and Burrons Town is the North Hill Common. The central area covers the West and East Hill Commons.



considerable 'moor pasture' (99.45 acres). Only four of these can be described as agricultural (Kirkton, Linton, Feaston and Frustigarth) with the remaining nine averaging only 2.61 acres apiece. The total area is only 319.16 acres with a pre-improvement population of 100.<sup>35</sup>



Fig.9. 1492 Map of Shapinsay from *Lord Henry Sinclair's Rental of Orkney*.

The second Bishopric survey, the Barlas Report, made much of East Hollandstoun's poor amenities which produced barely enough cereal crop to feed its population, let

<sup>35</sup> NAS, RHP 2895- East Hollandstoun.

alone fulfil the condition of Lord Zetland's tack.<sup>36</sup> Most rents remained at a nominal level after Marcus Calder's drainers and ditchers had 'squared' this area, and the adjacent Commons, for it was not until 1868 that deep pipe-tile drains were installed. Even then the majority of the tiles were required for the 200 acre Monquhanny farm on the site of the centuries old Gorn of Holland.<sup>37</sup> Fishing and subsistence agriculture were essential to all but Monquhanny and the four other farms, mentioned above. However, this was not an irreversible situation as is illustrated by the following postscript inserted by Barlas in his report, 'Any tenant would remunerate himself for his outlay or improvements and make a comfortable living.'<sup>38</sup> Barlas's optimism was based on his own estimated yields of bere, white and grey oats, and turnip and an increased carcass weight of fatstock cattle. For East Hollandstoun he proposed a stocking of 300 sheep, 100 pigs and fifty cattle with no attention paid to fishing. This was his only point of agreement with David Balfour who disregarded his advice, preferring (eventually) to concentrate on cattle to the exclusion of sheep and cereals.

East Hollandstoun's population of one hundred divided into six farming families ('widow' Stevenson at Greenataingslap and Elizabeth Heddle at Braeholland are rather optimistically described as farmers in the 1841 National Census with 3.91 and 2.4 acres respectively and an income derived almost exclusively from straw-plaiting and stocking-knitting), six fishing families (again subsidiary incomes are vital to these families) and seven families entirely dependent on piece-work.<sup>39</sup> The

---

<sup>36</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D34/D/4/2, Report to Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, Fields and Rivers by Robert Barlas, 12 July 1845. Dundas of Aske, Lord Zetland, is estimated to have extracted cereal and livestock from his Bishopric tack on Orkney and Shetland, to an annual value of £22,000.

<sup>37</sup> The Barony of Monquhanny (on the River Ore, Fife) was granted by King James IV to Michael Balfour in 1493. Upon the death of David Balfour the Orcadian tenant changed its name back to Gorn.

<sup>38</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, conclusion to the Barlas Report (see footnote 33, above).

<sup>39</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay 1841-91. O.A., Balfour Papers, D9/5, Straw-plaiting Records for Shapinsay 1833-38 (Appendix N).

transfer of ownership to the Trenabie Estate, in 1845, meant increased rents for the five larger farms, by a factor of 100-150 per cent, but little change for the remainder pending further drainage.<sup>40</sup> Even so, not all of the larger farms came up to expectation. Kirkton (formerly Kirkhill) had a pre-improved acreage of 55.83 with a crop ratio of 1:4 for bere but only one acre of arable for every other acre of pasture. The substantial rent of £20 per annum (1848) could not be increased in the next twenty years due to two unsuccessful attempts at deep drainage (in 1848 and 1853) and it was not until 1868 that Kirkton was finally increased to 85 acres with satisfactory tile drains.<sup>41</sup> Its southern neighbours (Linton, Frustigarth and Feaston) enjoyed new or renovated farm buildings but their gross acreages were reduced and rents were increased. Greenataingslap, Little Feaston and Fuag were 'squared' and given two ten-acre fields apiece. In 1855 their rents were increased (Greenataingslap excluded) by factors of 100-180 per cent. The remaining families had nominal increases (usually 5/- or 10/- per annum) which reflected their multi-functions with fishing still the main occupation. The large new farm of Monquhanny, by now increased to 120 acres, was in a different category and paid £50 in 1855, rising exponentially to £90 in 1870.

Unlike the tunmal of Sandstoun, East Hollandstoun displayed differing characteristics in its social composition. The mean nuptial age of its farming wives was 31 compared with 30.25 for their fishing equivalent. The majority of the piece-working women were either widowed or unmarried and the primitive state of the pre-

---

<sup>40</sup> see the previous paragraph for the late installation of pipe-tile drains.

<sup>41</sup> O.A., VR111, Valuation Rolls for the County of Orkney. D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (reproduced as Appendix L).

1855 parish records prevents the production of reliable statistics for this group. A number of the older offspring, however, are listed in the National Census of 1841 as fishermen and it is possible that these households had formerly depended on fishing for their livelihood.<sup>42</sup> The Bay of Crook is subjected to two hours of Atlantic flood-tide twice daily and the deceptive strength of the returning ebb-tide (as the figures on the Sinclair map, fig. 9 above, illustrate) made coastal fishing a dangerous occupation, especially in the Stronsay Firth (rich in cod, halibut and turbot).<sup>43</sup> Coalfish (saith or 'cuithies') were not a commercial proposition and shellfish (excluding lobster which fetched 6d per live specimen), as mentioned above, were only consumed as a last resort.<sup>44</sup> Barlas, admittedly a pro-improver in all the key areas of his Report, is nevertheless a good guide to the physical state of the former Bishopric tenants and their holdings at the beginning of our period. In addition to his condemnation of the enclave's poor habitations he succinctly states, 'they are neither fishermen or farmers...bordering on poverty...depending on the scanty crops they raise, and the few fish they catch when the weather is fine.'<sup>45</sup> That only Furstigarth, Linton and Feaston were liable for teind (against a higher requirement in the island's eight other enclaves) says much about the productive capacity of East Hollandstoun.

Another key to the poverty of this area is its large number of straw-plaiters and stocking-knitters. Out of the 1841 population of 100, twenty-eight women as listed in the agent's ledger, falling to twenty by June 1841, were engaged in these activities. The average income was only 4/- per annum with only Margaret Hepburn

---

<sup>42</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.

<sup>43</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 535-540.

<sup>44</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 541-4.

<sup>45</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Report to Her Majesty's Commissioners for Woods, Fields and Rivers.



at Linton, her cousins Janet and Mary at Little Gorn and her daughter-in-law Isabella at Gorn of Holland, earning respectively £3/17/9, £1/2/1, £1/1/- and £1/7/1.<sup>46</sup> Taking, therefore, the relative poverty of farming in East Hollandstoun, its high proportion of subsistence incomes and low ratio of arable to rough pasture (1:4), plus its poorly exploited fishing, it is not surprising that both the farming and fishing statistics for marriage and family size differs considerably from those for neighbouring townships. Although the population of 100 was spread over thirteen homes, the number of children was untypically low at twenty. There were also a large number of unmarried relatives (twenty) and only eight families with two or more children.<sup>47</sup> It was not until 1858 that family numbers began to rise and female nuptial ages began to fall (to twenty-six years), no doubt influenced by the completion of the 'squaring' of the North and East Hill Commons. The better quality housing enjoyed by the tenants from that date would seem to be a decisive factor in increasing fertility, related to the rising productivity and modest profits from the new, improved, farms.

### **Borrowstoun & Quoysness and West Hollandstoun.**

The smaller Bishopric enclaves of Borrowstoun & Quoysness and West Hollandstoun amply reflected the poor ratio of arable to pasture land of the other former Bishopric lands in Shapinsay but had too few tenants to allow viable statistical comparison.<sup>48</sup> The former had only three tenants occupying a total of 107.84 acres of which only 24.36 acres were arable. The combined rent was £6/10/-

<sup>46</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D9/5, Straw-plaiting records for Shapinsay, 1833-38 (Appendix N); Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.

<sup>47</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.

<sup>48</sup> NAS, RHP 2892 (Borrowstoun) and RHP 2894 (West Hollandstoun). O.A., D57, chart of Borrowstoun & Quoysness (1844).

in 1846 and the population totalled thirty-eight with two families supporting twelve offspring, solely from agriculture. The latter had an area of 187.51 acres which held three tenancies (one unoccupied) with 29.21 acres arable land. The rental amounted to only £5/2/- for a population of only fifteen with three infants. The sole occupation was, as with Borrowstoun, agriculture.

### Meannesstoun.

The larger enclaves of Meannesstoun and Waltnesstoun have, however, the necessary population for comparison with the other enclaves and a greater acreage of arable land. Meannesstoun had an acreage of 316.06 and although its arable land was no more extensive than 73.52 acres, this allowed the seven tenants an average of ten acres in 1846.<sup>49</sup> All seven farms were, therefore, of similar size with a combined rental of £50/14/- *per annum*. They were all 'squared' in 1848 and by 1851 had three ten-acre fields (the exception was Ha'quoy which was given eight ten-acre fields at an increased rental of £24 from £13). The population of fifty-two included seventeen infants and four juveniles with a mean nuptial age for the seven farming spouses of 31.43. Only one small family (the first born John Drever of Lingro) were occupied with fishing in an area which had enjoyed high crop yields since the earliest recorded times (the Rentals of Lord Henry Sinclair of 1492).<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the 1846 rental of £50/14/- fell well below the Barlas estimate of £80/19/10 which David Balfour did not achieve until the first renewal of the fifteen-year performance leases in 1863.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> NAS, RHP 2893.

<sup>50</sup> Thomson, *Lord Henry Sinclair's 1492 Rental*, p. 74.

<sup>51</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D34/D/4/2, Report to Her Majesty's Commissioners for Woods, Fields and Rivers, p. 2. D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L).

The social composition of this tunmal, as stated above, was different from all the other enclaves on Shapinsay, excepting Waltnesstoun, with the intervals between births of its eight families rarely producing offspring more than once every three and a half years (the average for farming families elsewhere was two years). Only the last famine years of 1832-5 produced fewer births (two in 1836 and four in 1837). In spite of the late marriage of Meannesstoun's women, however, there is very little evidence of a low birth rate and none of still-born or infant mortality.<sup>52</sup> This may be due to the absence of fishing as a main occupation for this community with a preponderance of farmers marrying in their late twenties (the mean is 28.9 years). The stability of tenure is also highly relevant with all of Meannesstoun's pre-1846 tenants remaining on their old ground.

Within twenty years, however, the population of Meannesstoun had declined to forty-two with one new cott (Newhouse) added. None of the tenants fished and the interval between births had closed to the island's average of two years. The nuptial age of its farming spouses had also fallen, to 26.2 years.

### **Waltnesstoun**

Waltnesstoun had long been regarded by the Trenabie Estate as an area of great potential and an obvious and desired addition to the home farm of Sound.<sup>53</sup> Peterkin's research has shown that this area of 310 acres held five tenants on prosperous farms (fig.10, below), a situation that still existed in 1846.<sup>54</sup> The arable acreage was 57.76, like Meannestoun giving its tenants a satisfactory average of

<sup>52</sup> Register of Birth, Marriage and Death at Girnigeo farm, Shapinsay.

<sup>53</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours, 1749-1799*, pp. 129-140.

<sup>54</sup> Peterkin, *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney*, pp. 24-49.

eleven acres each (the tenant with the largest acreage of arable land was Thomas Nicolson with fourteen acres). With a population of forty-five in 1841, Waltnesstoun's fertile acres supported a social structure not dissimilar to that of the former. Also bereft of a fishing capability, Waltnesstoun had a nuptial female mean of 26.17 years with the birth interval at 2.45 years widening to 5 years for its four small coastal farms.<sup>55</sup> However, by 1861 the main farm of Waltness had been enlarged to 220 acres and two of these coastal farms (Quoys of Ayreacks and Runabout) enclosed within its boundaries. An initial (1846) rental of £21 had been raised to £59 which is close to Barlas's figure of £56/2/6.<sup>56</sup>

### SHAPINSHAY, CROFT 1739.

#### WALTNESS 7½d. Land.

ROBERT and THOMAS HEDDALLS compt for 2d. land there, ps. 2 lp. 16 mk. butter, 9 m. malt, and 4 poultry.

MAGNUS CUMMING compts for 1½d. land of Gairth, ps. 2 leispd. butter, 6 m. 4½ sett. malt, and 3 poultry.

WILLIAM HEDDALL in Rinnabout compts for 1d. land there, ps. 4½ m. malt, 1 lp. 8 mk. butter and 2 poultry.

THOMAS RUSSLAND compts for 1d. land there, ps. 1 lp. 8 mk. butt., 4½ m. malt, and 2 poultry.

EDWARD SHEARER compts for 2d. land of Coll, ps. 1 m. malt, ½ barr. butter, and L.9, 10s., or anyyr. ½ bar. butter.

#### OVER HOLLAND 9d. Land, whereof 3d. p. Epo. and 6d.

Refd. to Clestrons Accot.; the said 3d. p. Epo. should pay 1 lp. butt. 3s. 6d. scat sr., 15 m. 2 sett. malt; in land meall and teynd 6 m. flesh, 6 poultry, and for Whytcleat 6 mk. butter, compted as follows:

JAMES CUMMING compts for 1d. land in Mickle Swartaquoy, which should pay 9 mk. butt. 14d. scat sr., 5 m. 16 mk. malt, 2 poultry, and 2 m. flesh; but sett for 9 mk. butter, 1s. 2d. scat sr., and 4 m. malt. Rests all is L.23, 3s. 8d.

MAGNUS NICOLSON compts for Tantum in Little Swaratquoy,

Fig.10. Rental of Waltnesstoun 1739

<sup>55</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Orkney, 1841-91.

<sup>56</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Report to Her Majesty's Commission for Woods, Fields and Rivers, p. 3.



These changes dropped the population to thirty-three with the mean female nuptial age falling to 23.65 years and the birth interval to two years. The absence of fishing is shown by the description of all Walnesstoun's tenants as farmers in all the census returns after 1841 and by the disappearance of the coastal skerries from the rental books.<sup>57</sup> In addition the generational succession, so evident from Peterkin's research, had been broken with the Work family evicted from Waltness (victims of the 'Promiscuous Dancing Affair'), the Shearers at Runabout and the Quoys of Ayreacks. While Waltness farm was continuing to expand, many of its former neighbours had their land added to that of older Balfour property at Bu'house and Strathore (formerly Weiland). The Galt peninsula was rejected for livestock other than sheep and its farm, Garth, increased to 122 acres at an annual rent of £12/10/-. The whole of Waltnesstoun did not, however, live up to David Balfour's expectations and Gebro's thirty acres, and Greenwall's forty acres, did not drain as well as its neighbours. A rapid turnover of tenants could not be halted by the pegging of the rent at £4 and £5 respectively.<sup>58</sup> Eventually the whole western quarter of Shapinsay was developed as a large beef-rearing farm with the old tenancies of Rosecraigie, Agricola and Westhill being absorbed into Balfour Mains farm.

### **The remaining enclaves of Shapinsay**

The remaining tunmalls of Shapinsay are Kirbuster (or Gerstie), Elwick, Sound and Weiland. In the later half of the eighteenth-century, and prior to their conversion by

---

<sup>57</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.

<sup>58</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L), Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay (Appendix J).

David Balfour, they were principally in the hands of the Sound Estate (Kirkbuster had been owned by the Laings of Papdale) and held by far the heaviest numbers of migrants from other Orcadian islands. Mainly housed in Balfour Village, they had settled in Shapinsay to join the new wage-earning class of roadmen, quarrymen, carpenters and ditchers and drainers. Sound had also absorbed all the displaced onca's, bu'men and small-holders who had been moved from the fringes of the old Hill Commons. In 1846 the village had twenty-four cottages (when it was renamed from Shoreside a number had upper stories added to accommodate the increased population) and in 1858 a hotel, 'Waves', was put in the charge of the chief carpenter's wife Margaret McRobbie.<sup>59</sup> Here the mean female nuptial age was considerably lower than in the fermtouns (22.79 years) and the interval of birth averaged only 1.8 years. These families do not appear in the Trenabie Estate Rental Book until the 1870's as the majority of their working activities was geared to the maintenance of Balfour Castle or to the 'squaring' and its allied crafts. A typical example is the aforementioned McRobbie who was engaged in 1847 at an annual salary plus rent-free accommodation in the village. The terms of engagement are simply stated, as follows, 'Joiner, Carpenter and Cabinet maker as required by Mr. Balfour of Trenabie from the term of Martinmas 1847 to Martinmas 1848 for the yearly wages of 50 guineas (£52/10/-) with house and garden, each party to give three months notice.'<sup>60</sup>

This was not a permanent move for many families as the gradual availability of new 30 acre farms required established farmers with proven ability. Only nine

---

<sup>59</sup> Appendix J Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers on Shapinsay, 1841-1891.

<sup>60</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 23/10/1847 from D. Balfour to J. McRobbie, Monnimail.

families left Shapinsay permanently and a majority adapted to their new occupations, especially those from the former fishing community whose versatility was tested in a range of occupations from coal-gas manufacture to lime-burning or ditching.<sup>61</sup>

As stated, above, at the introduction to 'Estate policy and its effect on family size and income', the separate communities of Shapinsay had experienced a variety of administrations and a wide disparity in income and expectation. The links between occupation (especially that of fishing), marriageable age, female conception and the regularity of births, reflected both the administration and the nature of tenancy. One of the premier aims of the Trenabie estate was to eliminate these irregularities and place all tenants on a similar, prosperous, footing. Many of the smaller tenants in these pre-squared 'pockets' had, nevertheless, demonstrated a determination and fortitude throughout the difficult years of poor harvests (especially from 1832-37), together with an ability to adapt to the changing economic scene that had introduced and withdrawn proto-industry from their island.

### **Mortality and occupation before and after the 'squaring'.**

The existing parochial records, prior to the introduction of civil registration in 1855, list birth, marriage and death for Shapinsay but, unfortunately, fail to register the causes of death. It is therefore unsafe to make the division between death by natural cause, disease or accident until the above date. It is, however, possible to trace infant mortality and the figures quoted in the previous paragraphs, referring to intervals in birth, incorporates these premature deaths. The number of illegitimate births can be

---

<sup>61</sup> Appendix J.

inferred (again not a safe assumption) from the fragmented baptismal records of the Church of Scotland and the Secession Church and from the small number of 'visitors' living with young, unmarried, women.<sup>62</sup> The established Kirk's attitude is described above but it must be reiterated that the Rev. John Barry was not respected or consulted by the majority of the inhabitants.<sup>63</sup>

Analysis of the (increased) mortality rates in the aftermath of the famine years of 1832-5 does, however, give us a revealing spread of generational mortality (Fig. 11, below).<sup>64</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Deaths</u>
1830	7
1831	9
1832	9
1833	10
1834	17
1835	16
1836	17
1837	1
1838	7
1839	12
1840	no record
1841	no record
1842	6

Fig.11. Table of Mortality, 1833-1837.

<sup>62</sup> The NAS holds the kirk session notebooks for both churches under CH3/1099 and CH3/250/1 but births, marriages and deaths are not included for the dissenting community prior to 1830. Late baptism was also very frequent, often for children of four years or older. Overall the statistics for the period up to and including 1854 are very unreliable. The National Census of Population, Orkney, Sheet 28, 1841 & 1851, records two families living in or close to Balfour Village where there is a young, unmarried, woman supporting a number of 'visitors' aged between two and four years. These may, of course, be the Rev. John Barry's 'only two illegitimate births in two years.' (note 15, above).

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter 4, p.6, footnote 16.

<sup>64</sup> Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths for Shapinsay, Girnigeo farm. Appendix D, Deaths on Shapinsay, 1830-1885.



In 1833 only Thomas Nicolson of Sandston (aged seventeen), Margaret Skea of Osoft (twenty-two) and Marjory Liddle of Shoreside Village (twenty-six), died in young adulthood. In the same year Janet Heddle (eighty-one), Christian Sinclair (eighty-four), Elizabeth Michael (seventy-four) and William Work (seventy-eight), died in old age. The remainder, all female, died in early middle age. In 1834 only two juvenile deaths (Peter Skea of Osoft, aged eleven, and Thomas Liddle, aged thirteen, of Shoreside Village) occurred, compared with a much larger number of adult deaths (eight mature adults and seven seniors). 1835 recorded two child, four juvenile, three adult and seven senior deaths. However, in 1836 there were only two adult deaths (one mature and another senior) in a total of seventeen. Although the cause of death is not given, these statistics represent a dramatic increase in youth mortality. Five Heddles and three Michaels are included in these figures. Both of these families had occupied, for generations, shoreside holdings in pursuit of fishing or subsistence agriculture. The Heddles comprised eleven households in this period of which nine were supported in this way. The three Michael deaths were in fishing families and all from the enclave of Sandstoun (as were the Heddles). It is unsafe to assume, however, that these early deaths are from secondary infections in a population weakened by disease or malnutrition. Samuel Laing (the proprietor at Kirbuster) and the Bishopric (Sandstoun) did import considerable amounts of meal and potatoes to alleviate suffering prior to four years of poor harvests and rough sea conditions. William Balfour felt obliged to help although the postscript to his agent in Leith displays a hard opportunistic tone, 'Send 10 bolls of good potatoes...for such they are wanted chiefly to supply my poorer neighbours where potato crop

failed in almost every way last year. The tenants...much more willing to work in the Kelp...part of their payment being in Meal.’<sup>65</sup>

Fishing relied heavily on a few species to provide not only a cod bounty and food for domestic consumption, but for lamp-oil and a form of meal for fertiliser.<sup>66</sup> Fenton describes these practices as fishing for, ‘hungerfood, filling the gap when other sources have failed, for the poor often have to live on them for many weeks at a time, sometimes beating them [‘cuithies’] small in lieu of bread.’<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, in poor weather it is the younger fish, the sillocks, which are caught close to the shore from craigseats. The laborious method of their capture and the small size of the sillocks can not have compensated for a lost harvest or an inoperable yole.<sup>68</sup>

Whether famine, intermarriage or a lack of male offspring, hastened the decline of Shapinsay’s largest interrelated family groupings of Heddles, Works or Liddles, is open to speculation. However, the latter two explanations do seem plausible given that the success of the Nicolsons (still resident in Shapinsay to this day) on the south-east and eastern coastline farms; the Shearers (mostly on reclaimed land) and the Drevers (grouped in the north-west), depended on a strong male succession.<sup>69</sup> The formerly numerous Heddles and Works (eighteen families in 1841) certainly declined as tenantry due to the absence of male heirs.<sup>70</sup> This problem was

---

<sup>65</sup> O.A., Balfour papers, D2/1/4. Letter of 29 March 1837 from William Balfour, Sound to Robert Moubray & Sons, Leith. Balfour’s kelp income in the previous year had amounted to only £43/7/8 after expenses (D2/1/8, letter of 9 January 1837 to J. Kinneir, Edinburgh). D2/1/10, letter from D. Balfour, Edinburgh to Wm. Balfour, Sound advising the later that rather than import corn to ease the Bishopric’s shortage problems, a cash payment should be made to the Superior who in turn can make the import orders. D34/R/1/4, statement of subsequent (May 1837) import of relief supplies for island of Shapinsay at a cost of £14/11/2 for 52 cwts of potatoes, 50 bolls of meal and 3 cwts of rye.

<sup>66</sup> See above, Chapter 4, p. 17, footnote 41.

<sup>67</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 531.

<sup>68</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 533. Craigseats were perches on rocks where line fishing for sillocks was carried out with pre-chewed limpets for bait.

<sup>69</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91. Appendix I, Location of Tenancies on Shapinsay, 1841-91.

<sup>70</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.

also complicated by the lateral movement of so many families driven by the radical measures adopted by the Trenabie Estate. In pre-improvement eras these groupings can be easily traced to holdings within a single tounmal which made the likelihood of 'German cousins' (the marriage of second-cousins) more frequent. Dispersal, even if only over an area of 7,300 acres, made marriage with unrelated families a distinct possibility.

### **The physical and psychological implications for the tenantry.**

The Shapinsay tenantry were, however, unaware that their sole proprietor had vetted all his existing and potential tenants before his purchase of the Bishopric and Laing Estates. In possession of the Laing Rental Book his comment that 'the goose has swanified' underlines that his intended rent increases will be paid promptly (only one tenant in the Laing ledgers was lax in settling rent and teind) and that his enlarged farms will be well tended.<sup>71</sup> Whereas David Balfour had acted for three seasons as 'Younger Trenaby' in the absence of his ailing father, and the inability of his step-brother William, his tenantry had not expected the swift capitulation of the Crown interest nor the bankruptcy of the Laing Estate.<sup>72</sup> The rapidity of David Balfour's actions in both ripping apart the traditional social structure of their native island (and in erecting his mock baronial castle) and the effectiveness of his legal and financial

---

<sup>71</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D34/D/4/2, Rent Roll of the Laing Estate, Shapinsay. D2/16/45, letter of 26/8/1845 from D. Balfour, Sound to Wm. Balfour, Hermiston House, Midlothian.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, D2/7/5, letter of 22/5/1845 from G. Petrie, Westray to D. Balfour, complaining of William Balfour (junior) and his inexperience as a factor of the Trenabie Estate.

control, can be observed in the transformation of occupancy in Shoreside Village and by sourcing the Summons of Eviction at Kirkwall Sheriff Court.<sup>73</sup>

Taking, first, the comparisons in occupancy, it is important to repeat (see page 167) that none of the cottages in Balfour Village appear in the Rental Book until late in Balfour's stewardship.<sup>74</sup> By this time, 1871, the transformation of Shapinsay was complete and the relationship between Heritor and artisan/small tenant had lost much of its master-servant commitment. In 1841 after the withdrawal of labour from kelp-burning, the down-turn in straw-plaiting for the female population and the disappointments of successive fishing seasons, Shoreside Village numbered 118 inhabitants spread over twenty-three families plus a number of unattached residents. The composition of this community can initially be split into thirteen fishermen with forty-nine dependants; ten carpenters/boat-builders with only one dependant; five artisans with seven dependants and single occupancies by the blacksmith, miller, general merchant and tailor. The total number of employed was forty-one with the dependants at seventy-five.<sup>75</sup> The mean nuptial age of the fishing wives was 21.23 years against 26.89 for artisans and labourers wives. The interval in birth was 2.2 years for both groups but the youth of this community would allow for a variation in this statistic in the following decades. With the exception of the male-servant George Reid, his wife Marion and six children (first-born twins plus an interval of three years per child), the other families at Shoreside had only one child (or none) and often shared their cottage with unmarried apprentices or artisans (seventeen in all). George Reid was in fact allowed residence in the village as a last

---

<sup>73</sup> O.A., SC11/5, Processes of Kirkwall Sheriff Court. Schedule A, The Population of Shapinsay.

<sup>74</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger (Appendix L).

<sup>75</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.



resort after a number of altercations during the old laird's lifetime and had been forced to vacate the more comfortable, and prestigious, billet at Clifffdale House.<sup>76</sup>

In the intervening ten years only one of the fishing community at the renamed Balfour Village had continued in their old occupation. The exception was the childless Andrew Drummond (aged fifty in 1851) supporting a wife and an eighty year old mother-in-law. The remaining twelve families had accepted employment at Shapinsay's numerous quarries or as builders (both of houses and boats) or farm labourers. The National Census of 1851 lists eight families living from quarrying or stone-masonry.<sup>77</sup> Widowhood (the deaths of fishermen are recorded but the causes of death were not entered in the Parish registers until 1855) resulted in the former dependants being employed in domestic service or farm duties. By 1851 Balfour Village housed 143 with forty-seven wage earners and ninety-six dependants. The chief occupation was now that of farm labourer (nine) closely followed by mason/quarryman (eight), domestic servant (six), and craftsmen (tailor, shoemaker and dressmaker) and general merchants numbering nine. The total dependency for the first two of the above categories was now forty-seven, showing quite clearly the lateral movement of occupation through the first stage of the 'squaring' and enclosure schemes. Of the 13 former fishing families, only four continued to produce children but at a mean of one child for every three years. Graph A (Appendix F) shows the movement of the three main occupation groups.

Incoming families who provided the additional labour and expertise, were not limited to experienced farmers. Of these fifteen families only one, the McRobbies

---

<sup>76</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 29 July 1845 from D. Balfour, Clifffdale House to Wm. Balfour, Hermiston House, complaining about Reid's drunkenness.

<sup>77</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91.

from Monnemail, Fife, (see page 167 and note 60, above), migrated from outside Orkney and only another four from outside Shapinsay (this includes an experienced midwife, Eliza Clark, with her four children, from Kirkwall). The intervals in the birth of the children of these families (a mean of four years) reflect the peripatetic existence of the nineteenth-century tradesman's family. That David Balfour could find work for so many can be easily calculated by perusal of the List of Shapinsay's Farm Buildings (Appendix E) and the correspondence between David Balfour and his architect, David Bryce.<sup>78</sup> The eviction of the four elders of the Secession Church in the aftermath of the 'Promiscuous Dancing Affair' (Peace, Shearer, Sketheway and Work) does of course weigh against any idea of impartiality from David Balfour. However, it is interesting to note that the two elders who survived, James Meason at Furstigarth and James Reid at Ness, were universally acknowledged as 'good farmers' and continued to be so into old age.<sup>79</sup> Whether these qualities elevated them above the evicted elders in the eyes of their landlord, is not recorded. A combination of 'unworthy' occupation, dissenting opinions and an unfavourable vetting by laird and factor, was unlikely to result in a long lease or indeed anything better than a short-term agreement on a subsistence holding.

The provision of a clean water supply, a comparatively low density of villager to cottage (only in the case of a young, large, family did numbers exceed four or five per cottage), good building maintenance and an improved diet prevented the overcrowding and opportunity for water-borne diseases which had such a

---

<sup>78</sup> Schedule C, List of Shapinsay's Buildings compiled by Douglas Barker and George Esslemont in May 1998. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, twenty-four letters written by D. Balfour to D. Bryce, Edinburgh, between February 1846 and September 1848.

<sup>79</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 28 June 1847, from M. Calder to Mrs E. Balfour, Eyemouth.

disastrous effect on many rural communities at this time.<sup>80</sup> Only two recorded outbreaks of smallpox and one of typhoid fever are traceable in the generation which witnessed the transformation of Shapinsay and both occurred in relatively isolated farms in the former tunmal of Weiland (Strathore and Trattleton).<sup>81</sup>

David Balfour's attitude to his tenantry was not an ambivalent one. Although he exercised a high degree of social control on a religious, educative and occupational level, his 'improvements' were intended to be all-embracing. The moral and social elevation of 'his people' was a frequent theme of correspondence with other Scottish landowners where a self-reliant, aspirant tenant was expected to 'rise in the world'.<sup>82</sup> He was also subtle enough to encourage the vestigial elements of materialism in the Voluntary (United Presbyterian Church) and Evangelical (Congregational Union) communities. Both the Church of Scotland and the Secession records for this period note that sermons were preached around the New Testament 'Parable of the Talents'.<sup>83</sup>

The softening of the U.P.'s attitude to its codes of discipline did not occur, however, before the major disruptions in the island's agricultural and domestic arrangements. Stung by their laird's reaction to any commentary which concerned his management, their kirk-session adopted a new, wary, approach to non-religious

---

<sup>80</sup> Balfour Village had a row of kitchen gardens laid-out in front of the 25 cottages, inspected regularly and maintained by the Trenabie Estate. In 1858 gas lighting was installed in the village. Butchermeat at 2 1/2p per lb was supplied from local farms. Fish continued to be an important element in the villagers' diet together with the better quality vegetables produced in the kitchen gardens and the improved farms.

<sup>81</sup> Register of Births, Marriage and Deaths for the parish of Shapinsay, Girnigeo farm. Appendix D, Deaths on Shapinsay, 1830-85.

<sup>82</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 21 October 1856 from D. Balfour to Mackenzie of Gairloch.

<sup>83</sup> Holy Bible, New Testament, Matthew, Chapter 25, verses 14-30. NAS, CH3/1099, kirk-session notebooks of the Anti-Burgher Church and CH3/250/1, kirk-session notes of the Church of Scotland, Shapinsay.

matters.<sup>84</sup> Pre-marital relationships, and illegitimate births, still drew session disapproval but the body-blow dealt to its pride and confidence by David Balfour's actions had reduced its capacity to punish individual members of its congregation. The rise of the Morisonian strain of evangelical Christianity was also a threat to the U.P.'s hegemony on Shapinsay.<sup>85</sup> The existence of one-parent families has already been discussed above and their small number suggests that the upheaval of 1847-58 did not constitute a dysfunctional element in the restructuring of the island's society.<sup>86</sup> Given that Balfour Village's unmarried contingent rose from nine young adults in 1841 to twenty-four in 1851 (this does not include eleven servants of marriageable age at Balfour Castle) it would be surprising if pre-nuptial relationships did not occur and, perhaps, lead to dismissal and banishment from Shapinsay. The marriage lists in the Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths record a number of ceremonies for couples who had earlier been admonished by their respective kirk-session for 'pre-marital copulation'.<sup>87</sup> In a time of great upheaval in the whole of Orkney it was not in a Heritor's interest to lose a healthy labourer or servant and certainly careless to lose the possibility of an extra one or two. Humiliation before a congregation, for whatever moral sin, was frowned on by David Balfour, especially when it involved his own personal servants. In former times of lax administration his forebears had taken a complacent attitude to kirk-sessions, viewing them as the eyes

---

<sup>84</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church, p. 133. The session advises 'caution' in its dealings with secular matters and uses words like 'consult' and 'appreciate'.

<sup>85</sup> O.A., D/27/1. United Associated Presbytery of Orkney. Note of 18 March 1852 records the expulsion of 27 Shapinsay adults from the U.P. for 'new views' and 'worshipping with a sect which teaches views of the gospel contrary to the doctrines held and maintained by the U.P. Church.' The Morisonians' were a number of congregations who had left the U.P. after the expulsion of James Morison of Bathgate. They joined the Evangelical Union (Congregationalists) in 1852.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p.169.

<sup>87</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church, pp. 137-8. Appendix C, Schedule of Marriages for Shapinsay, 1830-85.



and ears of their estates and replacing the irksome duties of the old Birley or Barony Courts.<sup>88</sup>

### **Shapinsay on the threshold of prosperity.**

The laxity of former administrations was, of course, not tolerated by the Trenabie Estate under David Balfour. Advice was frequently given from Balfour Castle but rarely solicited. In the idealised nineteenth-century world of planned, commercial, farming the boundary disputes, food shortages and ill-maintained farms and cottages so characteristic of the Dundas Superiority, could not be tolerated. Administration and policy emanated from the study at Balfour Castle designed to promote Shapinsay as the premier beef producing island in Orkney, or any other Scottish area, with a tenantry second to none in its self-sufficiency and robust good health. At the heart of this planning were new, more sophisticated, levels of social control. Concealed in the robes of paternalism, they were articulated by David Balfour and administered by Marcus Calder. The early years of the 'squaring' and the unaccustomed movement of so many families away (and sometimes back to), their familiar farms had been abundant proof of their self-reliance and versatility.

The growth of the population and its ability to retain young, vigorous, people was a testament to Balfour's belief in delegation and self-advancement. It was also proof that, in spite of radical change, the people of Shapinsay had neither lowered their morale or lapsed in confidence. The unification of the whole population of Shapinsay under one proprietor, and the removal of the barriers imposed by the nine 'pockets' was, in addition to encouraging greater productivity and prosperity, an

---

<sup>88</sup> C.G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 79.

incentive to a wider spread of social engagement. The drop in the average age of married women (illustrated earlier in this chapter) and the related fall in infant mortality, the decrease in marriages between 'German cousins' and the stability promised by long-term farm leases, were other examples of the progress made under an enlightened (if still irksomely paternalistic) administration. A population, however, that accepts long-term performance leases and embraces early marriage would pose new problems for the ambitious Laird of Trenaby.

## Chapter Five

### Social Control and a Secular Society

In Orkney 'social control' invariably took the form of the overt exercise of local power by the Earldom &/or Bishopric Superiority and continued through the hegemony of religious institutions to the dominance of a single Heritor. David Balfour's role as sole proprietor of the island of Shapinsay this pressure was overt through the legitimate organs of power such as that of proprietor, magistrate, Commissioner of Supply, Lord Lieutenant or colonel of the Orkney Artillery Corps. It was also, however, covertly applied in a number of strategies that were psychological, subliminal and manipulative in attempts to coerce a wary population. This was especially relevant to the two decades that followed David Balfour's inheritance of the Trenabie Estate in 1846.

#### Early and overt forms of control

While agreeing with Thomson that centuries of social cohesion was deliberately shattered by 'the universal appetite to acquire land for financial gain, political power and social prestige' of Orkney's ruling elite, it is impossible to deny that radical change was necessary, indeed inevitable, if the County of Orkney was not to shed the majority of its young, able-bodied, population.<sup>1</sup> The 'checks and balances' which Dodgshon explains as a combination of the physical barriers (i.e. the remoteness of

---

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 395.

island communities and the related difficulties in developing viable export infrastructures), centuries' old practice in agriculture and paternalistic administration, and the weak financial position of potential investors, had eventually been sidelined.<sup>2</sup> Planned expansion, nurtured by a more prosperous national economy and a more professional approach to estate management, had resulted in the replacement of an open-field culture by enclosure and commercial farming. Although still tenants to a paternalistic Heritor, the short-term stability of the annual Martinmas rental was rapidly disappearing in the wake of long-term performance leases which promised them greater security and freedom from the short-term uncertainties of cyclical crop failure or temporary price fluctuation. Landowners like David Balfour were also concerned at the growing attraction of assisted passages to New Zealand, Canada and the American Mid-West. The proliferation of advertisements in *The John o' Groat Journal* (founded in 1836) and the fledgling *Orcadian* (founded in 1854) promised passages for as little as £5 for young artisan families. The cream of an adaptable agricultural society were, also, often promised freehold land in the new territories overseas (see Fig.12, below).

---

<sup>2</sup> R. Dodgston, *Land and Society in Early Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 205.





## EMIGRATION TO New Zealand.

The Beautiful Full Poop Clipper Ship, "CADUCEUS," 1500 tons Burthen, loading in the East India Docks, will sail for AUCKLAND and NEW PLYMOUTH about the middle of January, 1859. Parties paying for their passage out to Auckland with this fine Ship, will each receive FREE GRANTS of 40 Acres of LAND and upwards.

Apply to ARTHUR WILLIS, GANN, & Co., New Zealand Colonial and Emigration Rooms, 3, Crosby Square, Bishopsgate Street, London, E.C.; or at the Orcadian Office, Kirkwall; where the New Zealand Hand-Book may be had, price 6d., or sent by Post to order enclosing Seven postage stamps.

From the "New Zealand Emigrant's Brochure."

"MECHANICS AND WORKING MEN.—Carpenters, cabinetmakers, painters, glaziers, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shipwrights, millwrights, coopers, sawyers, thatchers, gardeners, saddlers, sailors, shoemakers, all sorts of labourers, and handy jack-of-all-trade fellows, all men who minister to first wants, are certain to succeed in New Zealand—certain, if *only sober and industrious*, to make what to them would be a little fortune. It is literally true that hundreds of mechanics and labourers who landed in New Zealand a few years ago are now independent freeholders cultivating their own little estates. Two substantial New Plymouth farmers, members of the local Parliament, Mr Hursthouse tells us, came to New Plymouth, the one a journeyman carpenter, the other a most industrious agricultural labourer, and excellent M.P.'s they make. Indeed, every colonist could name a score of instances of the gratifying rise of sober working men; and any benevolent person knowing some industrious family of this class, and inclined to help them to New Zealand, might rest satisfied that such family would prosper there, and that they would be able to repay to their benefactor every penny of the money which he might have advanced to help them out."

Fig.12 Front-page advertisement from *The Orcadian* in January 1859.

Although a decade had passed since Balfour's planned assault on Shapinsay's runrig agriculture (and the down-scaling of its fishing), the young adaptable and adventurous were attracted by 'overseas alternatives, particularly in underpopulated countries which were rich in resources, were more attractive to Scots with

marketable skills’<sup>3</sup> The ‘well established culture of mobility’, amply proven by Orcadian recruitment to the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the growing competition from Australasia, had forced the Company to increase its contract-labour wages to £22 per annum for labourers, £23 per annum for ‘sloopers’ and £32 per annum for mechanics (all for 5 year contracts) at a time when Canada’s indigenous population was very nearly large enough to supply the Company’s needs.<sup>4</sup> By the Winter of 1859 they had to concede to the inevitable and future recruits were offered 25 acres, freehold, in the Red River valley for eight years service, and a further 25 acres for another ten years extension.<sup>5</sup>

At home, in Orkney, agricultural wages in the aftermath of the first ‘squarings’ had risen three-fold in the generation after the Napoleonic Wars. Writing to Capt. Craigie, commander of the County Militia, David Balfour complained that, ‘the demand for labourers is so great that we had not men enough for the necessary work of the district...I am just now bribing Caithness hands at 16/- a week & a free house, & still cannot get what I wish...’<sup>6</sup> The granting of long-term leases and their inbuilt rent increases (usually at each break of four or five years in a three-part lease) gave the landlord security against loss of investment while protecting the able tenant

---

<sup>3</sup> M. Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003), p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, p.71.

<sup>5</sup> *The Orcadian*, 23 November 1857, page 1. In Chapter 1 the drop in overseas employment, especially for young men from the Stromness area, is described as a setback to the local economy in times of financial hardship. The competition for labour in the mid-nineteenth century led to a temporary increase in the contract wages for the Hudson’s Bay Company. Married artisans, however, preferred longer-term prospects and held out for offers of freehold land (usually 40 acres). The front-page advertisement of 13 January 1859 offers to match any freehold offer in New Zealand, ‘25 acres (free) for 5 years service plus another 25 acres for a further 5 years.’ The passage to New South Wales, page 4 of the same edition, costs £5 for 45-50 year olds, £11 for over 50’s but only £1 for young men under 25 years.

<sup>6</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 17 November 1858 from D. Balfour to Capt. R. Craigie, Kirkwall.

against short-term seasonal catastrophe.<sup>7</sup> However, the penalty for poor performance was severe for those who adhered to the pre-improvement practices that had been tolerated by the complacency of earlier administrations. Contractual commitment may have been an encouragement to many but for the lazy or fainthearted the plight of Joseph Isbister of Stenness is illustrated in this letter from David Balfour,

I am sorry that upon my lands any tenant should have remained so long to so little purpose either for themselves or their landlord. When you refused to follow the example of your industrious neighbours I cannot say I was surprised for I did not look for much diligence from a farmer who slept all the Summer day and I should have expected as much improvement from the pig or the cat which were sleeping beside you. I cannot hold out any prospect of another farm my estate for I have none that does not want improvement, and none that cannot be spoilt by a lazy tenant.<sup>8</sup>

Balfour's impatience must also be seen against early attempts at consolidation of Trenabie land. In the Summer of 1856 he had advertised all of his seventeen farms near Stromness for sale at a public roup and within five weeks had realised a price of £10,419.<sup>9</sup> Contractual obligations were just as strongly enforced and legal action was not restricted to the backward or recalcitrant tenant. James Fullerton, of Strathore farm, had been recruited by Balfour in 1848 from Auchmithie, Angus, and granted a nine-year lease on the renamed Weiland (enlarged from 136 to 210 acres between 1848 and 1857) at an annual rent of £75/1/3. This was an ambitious move for a newly married young farmer of twenty-one and in 1854 he faced a Summons for Eviction for non-payment of rent.<sup>10</sup> There is no extant correspondence which relates

<sup>7</sup> O.A., D1/5/1, Inventory of the Craigies of Haroldsgarth, Shapinsay. A 22-year lease cost Magnus Craigie £12/10/- in 1848, rising in four-year stages to £24 in 1869.

<sup>8</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 25 May 1858 from D.Balfour to J.Isbister, Stenness.

<sup>9</sup> *The Orcadian*, p. 1, 5 July 1856, Advertisement of Public Roup of 17 farms at Stromness. 10 August 1856, p. 3, announcement of sale of the Stromness property of David Balfour at total price of £10,419.

<sup>10</sup> O.A., SC/11/5, Records of Kirkwall Sheriff Court, Process No. 93 (1854), Summons of Eviction of James Fullerton of Strathore, Shapinsay.

to this process and although Fullerton continued at Strathore until the 30<sup>th</sup> December 1863, he sold-up and left Shapinsay with his wife and five children (all under ten years). Whatever the consequences of Fullerton's tenancy an examination of his inventory shows that the conclusion to Chapter 4 was correct in insisting that the eventual profits from commercial farming would be considerable (amelioration and cereal rebates amounted to £306/10/6).<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless a tenant forced into a long-term lease is the subject of a form of social control and could not simply change the form or type of his farming without the consent (doubtful) of his landlord. Campbell has pointed to the constraints of the former administrations with their reliance on rent in kind, which imposed tight social and financial controls on its tenantry.<sup>12</sup> Eviction in this period, however, was not frequent due to the importance of mass labour in the kelp trade and the absence of outside investment to low-valued land. Few landlords dared break the circle of low agricultural productivity, modest rental income and low market prices for their products. Finally it is also worth acknowledging that the higher wages mentioned, above, by David Balfour were only a reflection of temporary labour requirements on a large, modernising, estate.

Chapters 2 and 3 illustrated the hegemony of radical Dissenting congregations and the frequent complaisance of the Erastian jurors and their Moderate clergy. The majority of the tenantry, who had always rejected violent action in pursuit of any grievance, had drawn solace and solidarity from their membership of the Secession Church. In spite of the rigor of its disciplinary codes, the congregation of this church had enthusiastically supported the founding of the

---

<sup>11</sup> O.A., D34/D/4/2, Inventory of Crop and Stock at Strathore Farm, 28 November 1863.

<sup>12</sup> R.H. Campbell, *Owners and Occupiers*, (Aberdeen, 1991), pp. 114-5.



Shapinsay Total Abstinence Society in 1847.<sup>13</sup> This enthusiasm was not simply a reaction to the tepid edicts of the established Kirk, or to the obvious hazards of alcoholic abuse. Temperance Union meetings underscored the differences between the perceived libertarianism of the local gentry and their Moderate clergy and the virtue of the simple farmer and fisherman. It deliberately promoted an environment of conviviality and an ethos of self-confidence and self-reliance. In the absence of an elected political representative, either in Kirkwall or Westminster, membership of the United Presbyterian Church and the Temperance Union resembled an activity endured in absence of choice.<sup>14</sup> In addition Voluntarist beliefs, carried in the consciousness of the former adherents of the Secession and Relief Churches and never dormant in the United Presbyterian Church, were alienated by the method of presentation of the island's established representative, the Rev. Thomas Scott (1846-71), who owed his position to the influence of their Superior, Thomas Dundas, Earl of Zetland. However, the effectiveness of the Temperance Union, and indeed the U.P. kirk-session, in a broader social spectrum is more open to conjecture. Chapter 4 has catalogued the nuptiality rates for Shapinsay and the, possible, numbers of illegitimate births without giving a definitive answer to the U.P.'s claims of encouragement to early marriage and discouragement of pre-nuptial intercourse.<sup>15</sup> The element of compulsion which encased much of the work of both kirk-session

---

<sup>13</sup> The Shapinsay Total Abstinence Society was formed in 1847 after the amalgamation of the Ministers' Abstinence Society and kindred organisations in the Relief Church. Usually named the Temperance Union, it met weekly at the United Presbyterian Church at Brecks, Shapinsay, under the chairmanship of the Rev. James Brown. The newly appointed Kirk minister, Thomas Scott (ordained on the 14<sup>th</sup> April 1846), and his congregation were not (unsurprisingly) members of this society.

<sup>14</sup> The County of Orkney was represented at Westminster by an MP elected, in 1851, by a voters' roll of 426. The franchise only permitted seven voters in Shapinsay and twenty-four in Kirkwall. There was no representative body on Shapinsay except the semi-informal associations of the U.P. and the Kirk.

<sup>15</sup> Register of Births, Marriage and Death, Girmigeo farm, Shapinsay. As stated in Chapter 4, these registers do not record the marital status of parents prior to 1855. Further complications are found in

and Temperance Union in the first four decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the lapses in sobriety and fidelity so meticulously recorded in the session books, are a testimony to the tensions endured by a population who were acutely aware of the inevitability of change and apprehensive of the outcome. Sobriety was not an issue of particular concern for Marcus Calder or many of the (non-dissenting) workers at Balfour Castle. Nevertheless, in a period when excessive drinking was the norm in Scottish society, temperance was regarded as a boon to the labouring classes and a social handicap to their superiors. Smout's citing of John Dunlop's apposite saying, 'In no other country does spiritous liquor seem to have assumed so much the attitude of the authorized instrument of complement and kindness as in North Britain', was not wide of the mark in nineteenth-century Orkney.<sup>16</sup> A tenantry without the support of an established institution had every reason to suspect harsher measures of social control. The fate of the U.P. elders involved in the notorious 'Promiscuous Dancing Affair' needs no further elaboration.<sup>17</sup>

In the aftermath of these evictions the tenants' faith in the hegemony of Secession opposition to a sole Heritor was crucially dented. The impotence of the U.P. Church was obvious in the face of authoritarian reaction. George Barry's 'supine indifference about religion' suddenly came into focus with the rapid promotion, and adoption, of Congregationalism by a population severely chastened by their first

---

the entry of large numbers of the population with the same surname and the repetition of Christian names for succeeding generations.

<sup>16</sup> In the frequent absence of David Balfour, and his wife Eleanor, during the construction of Balfour Castle, Calder and the architect David Bryce were frequent night-time visitors to the Laird's well-stocked cellars. The Harvest Home which featured so prominently in the 'Promiscuous Dancing Affair' was not, of course, a 'dry' evening. T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1986), p.134, quoting from J. Dunlop, *The Philosophy of Artificial and Compulsory Drinking Usage in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1939), p.6.

<sup>17</sup> W. Irvine, *The Isle of Shapinsay*, (Kirkwall, 1977), pp. 104-5. This account of the eviction of the U.P. elders, albeit anti-landlord in its tone, is an accurate summary of the prejudices which came to a head during this incident.

direct experience of the potent combination of ambition and cynicism.<sup>18</sup> Whether personal ambition among David Balfour's 'improving' tenantry was also a factor in the acceptance of the Rev. Thomas Salmon as Shapinsay's first Congregational minister is open to debate.<sup>19</sup> The opportunity to weaken the U.P. was not wasted by Balfour. In the last paragraph of a letter to his half-brother William he could not resist an ironic comment on the developing situation within the dissenting community, as follows,

The Morisonians are so strong here that they have asked me for a site for their Meeting House and I have consented, only stipulating that they shall furnish me with a statement of their rites...so that their doctrine may not be changed, like that of the English Independents, who were at first quite scriptural but have since become Secessionists...but...I reserve the power to remove them if they neglect their Saviour.<sup>20</sup>

In total sixty-eight former members (twenty-seven families) of the U.P. 'walked-over' to the Morisonians, all of whom received preferential leases.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the Rev. Salmon continued to be a thorn in the side of the U.P. for several more years as can be attested by entries in their kirk-session notes and by the former's correspondence in *The Orcadian*.<sup>22</sup> David Balfour's enthusiasm in sanctioning a feu for the

---

<sup>18</sup> Barry, *History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 333. Barry was of course concerned at the rejection of the moderate doctrines of the Church of Scotland and its Erastian principles.

<sup>19</sup> The Rev. Thomas Salmon (Evangelical Union minister of Shapinsay from 1852 to 1859) had enjoyed initial success against dissenting dogma in Shetland and had been 'invited' to enlighten the population of Shapinsay in a meeting held in one of the barns of Balfour Mains farm in the Spring of 1851.

<sup>20</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 19 July 1851 from D.Balfour, Balfour Castle to W.Balfour, Berstane House, Kirkwall. J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, (Oxford, 1960), p. 333. James Morison (ejected from the anti-burgher meeting –house in Bathgate) believed that the doctrine of Election, the Calvinist belief in Predestination, was in direct conflict with Evangelism in its active state.

<sup>21</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church, entries of 18 June 1851, 21 April 1852 and 11 December 1852. Appendix J, Movement of Tenant Farmers, Fishermen & Artisan/Labourers.

<sup>22</sup> *The Orcadian*, 9 January 1856, letter from the Rev. T.Salmon, Burnside, Shapinsay (dated 4 January 1856). After an altercation during a meeting of the U.P. kirk-session the elders ejected the

Evangelical Union (the term Congregationalist or Morisonian was never used in formal contacts between Heritor and the new church) was not shown in his relationship with the Free Church of Scotland. There was nothing covert in his dealings with this institution and although he was never in the position to refuse sites for church construction (unlike a number of Highland landowners of this period) he resented the defection of so many clergy from the established Kirk. In response to pleas for a renegotiation of the feu for the church, manse and glebe at Evie he had this to say

I had no idea of the unscrupularity of the Free Kirk, but I shall guard against their defrauding me by pretending a tacit acquiescence on the Confession of Faith. I shall insist upon the annual subscription of it, by the Moderator of their Assembly at sight of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and the Moderator of their Presbytery here in presence of the Established Presbytery of Kirkwall under penalty of £5 to be paid by the Minister occupying the Manse in question, for every years failure so to subscribe and this as the only proof which I can admit of their good faith shall be invested in the Disposition.<sup>23</sup>

Seven years later his opinion of the Free Church and its minister, the Rev. Logie, was no less trusting when the building of a new schoolhouse was demanded by the incumbent, 'Every animal is backbitten by its particular flea, bug or other vermin and I am liable to a William Logie- even the worthy doctor has no antidote!'<sup>24</sup>

---

Rev. Salmon who, he says, 'had wished only to dispute the doctrine of Election with Mr. Tyndal'. The latter was a member of Kirkwall kirk-session of the U.P. There are no surviving records from meetings of the Evangelical Union (Morisonians or Congregationalists) on Shapinsay. NAS, CH3/1099, minutes of the U.P.Church of Shapinsay. An entry of 4 February 1851 mentions, 'worship with a sect which teaches views of the Gospel contrary to the doctrines of the U.P.Church.'

<sup>23</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 8 December 1852 from D. Balfour to D. Smith, Smith & Kinnear W.S. David Smith acted as an agent for the Kirkwall Presbytery at the General Assembly in Edinburgh.

<sup>24</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 28 February 1859 from D. Balfour to the Rev. Beattie, Evie.



In the early years of the squaring overt statements of intent were expected, and probably dreaded, by Shapinsay's tenantry. However, if transformation and eventual consolidation were to be achieved then a more subtle approach would have to be employed alongside that underlined above. A population led by the nose was not necessarily one that would produce the rapid early improvement demanded by its proprietor. The following, sub-headed, paragraphs give an indication of Balfour's overt and covert attempts to build momentum into Shapinsay's transformation, marrying benevolence with a 'carrot and stick' approach when either tactic seemed appropriate. The numerous notices of eviction which had preceded the ditchers' spades and ploughs had not been enforced and a population which had been under one administration for less than a decade now required a more sophisticated, subliminal, strategy for the ongoing years.

### **Subliminal and covert attempts at social control**

The disaffection in Dissenting ranks was compounded by the gradual dispersal of Shapinsay's population into the new, semi-autonomous farm units, and the breaking-up of the nine tight 'pockets' round the shoreline (Balfour Village is naturally excepted).

While Callum Brown's observation that 'Polarisation of society led to dissent from skilled farm workers or artisans rather than tenants or small landowners' was true for Shapinsay in the early years of the 'squaring', his subsequent statement that, 'The ethos of respectability and hard work were also attractions for this social group. Loss

of potency, and urgency, came from de-population.’, is probably a more relevant observation when applied to the Orcadian experience.<sup>25</sup> A population that had stabilised at approximately 930 was now more susceptible to unfamiliar stratagems of social engineering. *The Orcadian* weekly newspaper signalled the start of a new, more covert, propaganda. Its front page carried repeated offers of farms to rent, including a number on Shapinsay, with ample potential for expansion. If *The Orcadian*, and its (mainly) landowning subscribers, were to be believed, then every tenant with a newly squared farm had an interest in the acceptance and extension of Balfour’s competitive, commercial, community.<sup>26</sup>

The subliminal nature of these messages was camouflaged by the very nature of the changes propelled by the Trenabie Estate. David Balfour had dual reasons for hastening enclosure and modernising his farms. Although an innovator in his own islands, he was not in the van of improvement for Scotland as a whole. The improvers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had quickly divided themselves into two groups, the serious and well organised or the fashionable and transient. The former had a long experience of favourable contracts and contacts with southern markets while the latter had failed to capitalise on their early initiatives and had either sold up or reverted to the limited ambitions of a merchant laird. The establishment of successful commercial farming could not be accomplished overnight and any investment in Orkney had a finite gestation period. The Trenabie Estate was impatient with reluctant tenants or dissident villagers and sensitive to the cautionary advice of Smith & Kinnear in Edinburgh. Whether being, ‘a little

---

<sup>25</sup> Brown, *Religion & Society in Scotland since 1707*, p. 84.

<sup>26</sup> *The Orcadian*, 3 May 1856. This is the first notice of sale for Trenabie Estate land at Ireland, Stenness (see note 7, above) and Shapinsay. The Shapinsay sales were withdrawn at a later date.

frightened at the expenses of Balfour Castle'; advising caution in, 'sell your house in Kirkwall, useless to you'; or worrying about interest rates, 'heritable securities are now at 5%, a concern for future investment in land', their advice was valued but not always followed by David Balfour.<sup>27</sup> Balfour's real intentions, and obvious frustration, is shown by his lengthy correspondence, writing as Commissioner for Supply for Orkney, with the various Government agencies entrusted with transport infrastructures. The inability of these institutions, and their deference to the wishes of the Dundas Earldom, to provide adequate steamer services from the Scottish mainland, is the core of his thirty-years of campaigning. As early as 1845, while still operating as 'Younger of Trenaby', he felt justified in complaining to the head of the Post Office in London that the Shetland mails should be split from those for Orkney and sent by separate steamer from Aberdeen. The Orkney mails, he suggested, should be ferried from Gill's Bay, Caithness as, 'in Thurso there are many desirous of Shares...and I think that it is of much importance, to secure as extensive a connection as possible.'<sup>28</sup> In the same letter he describes Kirkwall as 'the centre of the County's commerce', a theme he was to pursue until the Highland Railway eventually reached Thurso (but not Scrabster or Gill's Bay) in 1878. The tone of these letters was not always as perfunctory, however, as the London Steam Company were lambasted for proposing a Scrabster-Stromness link with the '*Duke*', a boat he describes as, 'Small, dirty and unsafe with a cabin like a steerage and a steerage like a pigstye. I wouldn't confine a criminal to the miseries of your steerage. The only

---

<sup>27</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7. Letters of 17 May 1847 and 22 October 1847. D2/15/13, letter of 10 August 1866. Throughout our period (1830-1875) the legal affairs of the Trenaby Estate were handled by David Smith and David Kinnear of Smith & Kinnear W.S., Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.

<sup>28</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 12 June 1845 from D. Balfour, Clifffdale, Shapinsay to A. Anderson, General Post Office, Whitehall.

asset to our Company would be a Steamer of superior speed, certainty & regularity.<sup>29</sup> The mere fact that the Earl of Zetland preferred the Scrabster-Stromness route was reason enough for David Balfour to oppose its establishment although he was careful to avoid direct criticism of his Superior. When Zetland engineered a £900 grant for a new mail-boat on the Scrabster-Stromness route his confidant, the local MP George Traill, received this repost from Orkney's Commissioner of Supply, 'The wind has blown from the west six days a week causing delays of between 2 to 5 days almost all Winter. Anyone with a knowledge of these coastal waters would agree with the decisions of the Commissioners of Supply.'<sup>30</sup>

In this context no delay could be tolerated at either end of the production chain. The antiquated levers of social control mentioned at the beginning of this chapter were no longer appropriate for a sceptical tenantry who had ridden the waves of uncertainty in the early years of the 'squaring'. The scene had been set for them by early articles in *The Orcadian*, written by 'Agricola' (a pseudonym for David Balfour).<sup>31</sup> The first full-length article to appear under Balfour's name appeared in the newspaper in August 1859. It is a transcript of a speech he made at a presentation to Marcus Calder at a public dinner in Shapinsay on the 20<sup>th</sup> July. After the introductory pleasantries he had this to say,

---

<sup>29</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 29 August 1856 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Millar, London Steam Company, Leadenhall Street, London.

<sup>30</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 30 January 1855 from D. Balfour, Commissioner of Supply, Orkney, to G. Traill MP, Westminster.

<sup>31</sup> From November 1854 until November 1858 'Agricola' had reported on topical issues related to Shapinsay. The pseudonym was taken from the long demolished farm of Grukalty (the local name for Agricola), the supposed landing-point of the Roman general in the first century AD, close to the old House of Sound.



Ever since I became your proprietor my object has been to carry out a progressive and scientific system of improvement, and, by rational means, to supercede antiquated and unprofitable modes of cultivation- and with a paternal regard to the interests of my tenantry, I have endeavoured to impress upon their minds the importance of energetic perseverance under an improved method, as the best means calculated to elevate them as men, to increase their domestic comforts, and improve their circumstances- to make them useful members of society, and an honour to their country. Most of you remember what Shapinsay was some twelve years ago, and all of you see what Shapinsay is now. We are rapidly converting waste lands and barren moors into productive fields- our cattle are doubled in number, and 500% in value, many of the old unprofitable domiciles have been removed, and are succeeded by substantial building of modern construction and convenience. In short, our social improvements have excited the admiration of strangers, and the wonder and acclaim of our neighbours. In introducing these changes and improvements I have been ably assisted by Mr. Calder...In conclusion I must remind you that our work is neither finished nor our improvements completed, but the experience of the past inspires me with confidence as to future success.<sup>32</sup>

Tenant confidence had certainly been raised by the numbers of small holders who had remained on Shapinsay and agreed Balfour's terms and diktats. To date none of the improved, enclosed, farmland had been sold to outsiders or converted into sheepwalks. Indeed, one of Balfour's leading critics, Her Majesty's Commissioners for Woods, Fields and Rivers, had failed to improve their properties and were now advertising 'land capable of improvement' in *The Orcadian*. Their sale price, for land in the Mainland parishes of Firth, Harray and Stromness, was a modest £450 for 119-acre farms.<sup>33</sup> Ten years later similar farms, after the introduction of lime and red clover, were fetching £500 per annum as rented property.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> *The Orcadian*, 1 August 1859, p. 3, speech made by David Balfour at the public dinner given by the proprietor and tenants of Shapinsay in honour of Marcus Calder on 20 July 1859.

<sup>33</sup> *The Orcadian*, 5 July 1858, p. 1, Advertisement for the sale of land in Firth, Harray and Stromness by Her Majesty's Commissioners for Woods, Fields and Rivers.

<sup>34</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/13, letter of 27 September 1866 from Wm. Bain, Kirkwall to D. Balfour, Commissioner of Supply for Orkney. The high rental price is mentioned as a postscript to a report on the possibility of extensions to Kirkwall harbour.

Indicators of permanence and stability were, nevertheless, just as important to Shapinsay's tenantry on their new, improved, farms. Balfour's speech had mentioned the replacement of 'old domiciles' but he had also used the word 'unprofitable' to describe their former homes. The 'broken' performance leases had dissolved the old relationship of good will and mutual co-operation by contractual arrangement which itself presented potential problems.<sup>35</sup> This new, legalistic, relationship acted as a form of 'carrot and stick' principle to which both parties were newcomers. Goodwill had been replaced by the contractual concept of performance and mutual co-operation by the probability of renewal (at an increased rent). Added to this risk was the dependence on the ultimate policy of the Trenabie Estate, its long-term assessment of profitability and the possibility of its breakup on the death of its proprietor. The capabilities and ambitions of David Balfour's heirs (he was childless), his half-brothers, were not discussed openly but family correspondence leaves little doubt that they lacked the talent and drive of the former. When advising his half-brother, Edward, not to take up farming he adds the following,

You are aware that the sort of rough work necessarily falling upon a Factor here requires a man to be in full vigour and activity while the many peculiarities of local and social and legal circumstances require, present almost insuperable difficulties to anyone who is not used to them, and in short an Orkney or Caithness Factor must be a young active man requiredly brought up in the business in the County.<sup>36</sup>

Linked to aspects of subliminal or even covert control were what can best be described as acts of benevolence or philanthropy. David Balfour could rely on his

---

<sup>35</sup> Appendix O, A long-term 'performance' lease for a tenant of the Trenabie Estate.

<sup>36</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 29 November 1851 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Edward Balfour, Edinburgh. Edward Balfour's inexperience (he wants to rent a farm on Shapinsay) is spelt out by his older half-brother who advised him that the theory and practice of agriculture are all very well but he (Edward) 'has not learned his methods from the ground up.'

impressionable step-brothers to follow his every word but he was required to give a positive lead to 'his people', who had been brought up in the County. The creation of a series of 'open' events linked to practical and enjoyable holidays or fair-days was his solution. Paternalistic or even high-minded, his 'goodwill' was intended to match the conviviality of Temperance gatherings and Sunday picnics.

### **Paternalistic 'goodwill'**

The first public signal of paternalistic goodwill from David Balfour came on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1854, when he inaugurated the Balfour Highland Games. Held every subsequent New Year's day on the parkland of Balfour Castle, it was a more abbreviated version of the Summer games which were mushrooming in size and popularity all over Victorian 'Highland' Scotland. Its three-fold purpose was intended to complement or re-inforce the new ethos at work in Balfour's Shapinsay. The first purpose was purely the promotion of healthy, competitive activity for modest cash prizes and the entertainment of the whole island population. Although the first edition of *The Orcadian* did not appear until November of that year, every subsequent New Year's edition carried a two-column report on the games from 1855 until the year of its benefactor's death in 1885. The newspaper report of the 19<sup>th</sup> January 1856 (contributed by 'Agricola') observed,

A gathering large and respectful, showing on the part of the tenants an evident desire of respect to their landlord. The island, which is thickly

populated with inhabitants, is advancing every year in prosperity, and the tenants are improving with equal pace in habits of industry.<sup>37</sup>

The second purpose was related to the Temperance Union, which Balfour was keen to support outside the narrow confines of the U.P., in diverting the population from an over-enthusiastic celebration of the New Year holiday and in curbing excursions and late homecomings from the unsupervised inns of Kirkwall. The third purpose was a fusion of paternalism and Romanticism. Not content with a Scottish Baronial Castle, a grand bathhouse disguised as a light tower and a park and arboretum, David Balfour wished for a happy, sober, pliant and grateful tenantry existing as a living tableaux of the perfect community.

Similar events were spread throughout the year, from the February Ploughing Competition (again for cash prizes which ranged from 15/- to 5/-), the Horse Breeders Fair, the Garden Display Day, the Shapinsay Agricultural Show and, naturally, the Harvest Home in October. All of these events were well publicised with the intention of balancing commercial advantage with this ethos of healthy competition and all-round competence.<sup>38</sup> The emphasis on self-reliance was, however, not innovative. The Balfour Castle Library demonstrates that not only the first editions of Scott, Hogg, Burns and (eventually) Dickens and Thackeray, had found their way north from the booksellers of the Lawnmarket, Edinburgh. Samuel Smiles is a prominent author among the volumes on self-improvement and

---

<sup>37</sup> *The Orcadian*, 3 January 1855, lists the eight events together with the prize-winners and a full account of the opening and closing ceremonies (signaled by a cannon fired from the lawn of Balfour Castle). The events were, Throwing the Hammer; Putting the Stone; Tossing the Caber; High Leap; Sack Race; Foot Race; Blind Barrow Race and Target Shooting.

<sup>38</sup> *The Orcadian*, 16 February 1856, report of the Shapinsay Ploughing Match. It is noticeable that the 'good farmers' on Balfour's vetting list i.e. Messrs. Reid, Meason, McAdie and Wards, all feature regularly as prize winners.



economics with architecture, botany and agriculture arranged on the most accessible shelves.<sup>39</sup> The tenantry were regaled from the publications of *The Orcadian* and the evening sessions of Shapinsay's three public schools. However, the apparent benevolence of free copies of the *North British Farmer*, distributed to all of Balfour's tenant farmers, hid behind a refusal to allow *The Agriculturist* to circulate throughout the island. The former was, he said, 'proper' reading material for his tenants while the latter was 'too radical'.<sup>40</sup> The correspondence of David Balfour is emphatic that 'his' islanders are not crofters living on the verges and margins of northern society. In spite of the contradiction implied in his overt acts and covert intentions, they were 'vital links' in the food production chain of Great Britain. In a letter to J. Hall-Maxwell, secretary of the Highland Society, Balfour exaggerated the difference between the communities in the Western Isles and Orkney to castigate the Society for putting them both in the same category in their farm surveys. He is certain that his tenants cannot be compared with,

the small crofters of other counties with an acre of grass or a patch of potatoes while you exclude so large a proportion of our most active & improving farmers with tenfold his stock and produce, aye and intelligence too, though you seem strangely to suspect them of inferior capacity to answer your questions.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Appendix M, Balfour Castle Library, Shapinsay. The *North British Farmer* and *The Agriculturist* are arranged next to Samuel Smiles' *Lives of Engineers*. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 16 December 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to W.J. Watson, bookseller, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh. This order is for Alison's *Life of Castlereagh*, Smiles' *Lives of Engineers* and *Memoirs of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*.

<sup>40</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 30 November 1852 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to D. Smith, Smith & Kinnear W.S., Edinburgh.

<sup>41</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 7 October 1856 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Hall-Maxwell, Highland Agricultural Society of Edinburgh.

In spite of outward acts of benevolence by the Trenabie Estate the kernel of its paternalistic policy lay in attempts to create new, sanitised, community activities (usually held well away from the farm or workplace) and the denigration of the former ‘unworthy’ occupations such as subsistence farming, fishing or kelp-burning. A combination of legal acumen, conspiratorial church politics and opportunism was administered to a transitional society anxious for positive leadership denied it by the impotence of its former spiritual leaders. Only in the prolonged negotiations between David Balfour and the Church of Scotland’s Northern Presbytery over the Kirbuster (or Sty) Glebe, did this combination of new money, old influence and perspicacity fail to dislodge outmoded practice. It was unlikely, however, that any Heritor could have overturned the legal precedent of an endowed National Church backed by its General Assembly and the influence of the Superior nominator (Dundas of Aske, Lord Zetland). Twenty years of negotiation was required before Shapinsay’s Glebe was freed for re-alignment.<sup>42</sup>

Whatever success the Trenabie Estate had in controlling the destiny of its tenants and the profitability of its reclaimed acres, it could not deny the concerns of both parties at the changing nature of their relationship. In Chapter 1 it was explained how William Balfour had been gradually ‘changing to stay the same’. His successor had made changes that were irreversible.

---

<sup>42</sup> O.A., OCR 3/6, Minutes of the Presbytery of the Northern Isles of Orkney (Church of Scotland), p. 212 dated 26 March 1850, a ‘dependant survey of the Glebe and surrounds’ drew an immediate response from David Balfour in a petition to Kirkwall Sheriff Court (minute of 21 December 1850, p. 223). The matter was finally concluded in 1876 (O.A., 3/7, 16 April 1877) when Balfour feued the 54-acre Glebe at £1 per acre per annum. The immediate result was the further expansion of the adjoining farms of Sty (renamed Hilton), Brecks and Hannatof.

## Changing relationships between laird and tenant.

In *The Diary of Patrick Fea of Stove* numerous entries are devoted to the relationship between the laird and 'his people'.<sup>43</sup> Without denying that 'his people' were less enamoured of this relationship, it was commonly regarded as a stable arrangement and frequently commended as a 'one class society'.<sup>44</sup> The Balfours of Trenaby had operated in a similar vein for close on three hundred years in Orkney and enjoyed moderate financial success as merchant lairds. As outlined in Chapter 2, David Balfour had more in common with contemporaries elsewhere in Scotland through his private education and university studies in Edinburgh. Immersed in the early stages of British party politics through his association with Robert Peel, and blooded culturally by the fashionable 'Grand Tour' of Continental Europe, he had developed a broad *weltgeist* which embraced politics, business, Scots law, art and literature.<sup>45</sup> The construction of Balfour Castle, the re-naming of the village of Shoreside and the many public offices undertaken within a few years of his father's death in 1845, were not the actions of a modest man. Social control was practiced as a facet of modern

<sup>43</sup> W.S. Hewison (ed.), *The Diary of Patrick Fea of Stove, Orkney, 1766-96*, (East Linton, 1997), pp. 9, 15, 26, 51 and 88. Patrick Fea operated as a 'merchant laird', farming and trading from his Sanday estate and supervising all aspects of his small commercial empire. David Balfour purchased Stove in 1848 and feud it to James Mackenzie of Gairloch from 1856.

<sup>44</sup> Timperley, *Directory of Landownership in Scotland, 1770*, p. 24.

<sup>45</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/1/9, letter of 13 February 1837 from D. Balfour, University of Edinburgh, to Wm. Balfour, Cliffdale House, Shapinsay. David Balfour informs his father that he is to chair a meeting at Glasgow University Union to welcome Robert Peel before 500 invited guests. Peel began his second term as Prime Minister at the head of a Conservative administration in 1841. In the intervening years between 1835 and 1841 he steered the Tory party away from the extremist tendencies which had threatened their earlier administrations in the aftermath of the passing of the First Reform act in 1832. Peel's liberalisation of foreign trade restrictions was his major appeal to 'Conservatives' like David Balfour although the latter did not support the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. The Balfour antipathy to Whig 'grandeers' was of long standing and during his legal studies at Edinburgh University, David Balfour became attached to a faction which clamoured for a closer alliance between anti-Protectionist Tories. Peel's efforts to build a more cohesive party machine were at the heart of the meeting chaired by Balfour in Glasgow. His subsequent correspondence, O.A. series D/16/43-59 (letter-books), displays a loyalty to Peelite ideals while maintaining a strictly pragmatic stance to local political issues.

nineteenth century economics but, in Balfour's case, it was accompanied by a self-conceit and ostentation that reached out far beyond the people of Orkney.

The yacht 'Streamlets', the translation of German lieder into English and the numerous publications on history, architecture and poetry, were intended to promote 'Balfour of Balfour' seniority through a cultural superiority over the neighbouring elite.<sup>46</sup> No-one glancing out over the Wide Firth from Kirkwall, or the parishes of St.Ola or Firth, could avoid a sight of the sandstone precipices of Balfour Castle. In this sense the widening social gulf in Orcadian society is relevant to discussions of social control. The 'incongruity in David Balfour's destruction of the real Middle Ages by his ruthless squaring of the landscape while at the same time he was creating his own medieval dream-world', is only partially correct.<sup>47</sup> Shapinsay certainly displayed many of the trappings of luxury and this 'dream-world' could be sharply juxtaposed against the lives of the less fortunate islanders (especially the fringe fishing families or marginalised cottars). However, generalities apart, runrig and its proto-industrial stablemates were not the Middle Ages. All of the activities (reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3) which can be related to proto-industry, even accepting their deficiencies, had undergone considerable development in the centuries since the Reformation and beyond. Runrig had undoubtedly contributed to the increase of available farmland, and population growth, after the famine of 1782. In itself runrig had undergone considerable modification through planking and shead consolidation,

---

<sup>46</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 20 November 1855 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J.Hall-Maxwell, Edinburgh. 'I am the direct male descendant of those who received a Charter from William the Lion of those lands of Strathor to Monquhanny in Fife (David II)' Balfour argues for support of a 'pedigree of such length.' D2/17/47, letter of 3 July 1857, from D.Balfour, Shapinsay to Admiral Balfour, Fife. Balfour, he says, comes from 'House of Or'. He has based his research on 'James MacKenzie's *Geneologia Antiquissinae Gentis Balfonia*'.

<sup>47</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 403.



to a primitive system of half-rotation. The cultivation of potatoes and the growing importance of poultry were significant events and organic development was noticeable in the sixty years that followed 1782.

The 'real' Middle Ages survived in Orkney in the heartland of udal land-holding, the parishes of Harray and Twatt in the West Mainland, where centuries of sub-division of its inherited tunmalls had done little to alter the poor quality of its farmland. Caught in a dilemma caused by poor yields, antiquated methods, and an inability to raise capital for better stock, grains or implements, this land failed (increasingly) to support or encourage its legion of sub-tenants. As runrig was essentially a system which depended on communal (mass) labour, its gradual isolation and comparative failings fueled much of the emigration so deplored by all sections of Orcadian society. These two hundred plus udallers participated directly in the working and marketing of their own produce. Equally emphatically, their improving contemporaries spent progressively less time in direct participation and administration and consequently lost much of the former easy conviviality and intimacy with their farm servants and tenants. In the specific case of Shapinsay it is difficult to find evidence of informal relations between laird and tenant or cottar. Balfour correspondence, however, often throws up a paternalistic sympathy for a dying cottar or old servant such as the following, 'Death is making inroads among my people, just now, and it is a time of many warnings of regret and helplessness. Poor Davie Craigie..one of my yachtsmen, dying of consumption..'.<sup>48</sup> Although there was no resident doctor on Shapinsay, Balfour made a note of his tenant's illnesses

---

<sup>48</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 3 February 1862 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to George Kinnear, Edinburgh.

and the treatment they were to receive. Two of the recipients of his concern were, 'little Robert Sinclair and Mouat (the epileptic) both requiring medicine. Robert Sinclair Snr. is the tenant of Lucknow farm.'<sup>49</sup> Most of communication between landlord and tenant, however, was conducted orally by the estate factor or by a brief, businesslike, letter. A letter to Barbara Wards, a 'pauper' living close to Elwick Mill, underlines that sentiment was never allowed to interfere with progress, 'I hope to be able to contrive some plan to leave you in your present house, but the land cannot be left unimproved and must be given to someone who will improve it.'<sup>50</sup> The paucity of written evidence from the common people of Shapinsay makes it impossible to give an accurate account of this landlord/tenant relationship. Similarly, the language use by the Dissenting church elders, in their kirk-session notes, limited itself to generalising phrases such as 'hostile influences' or 'moral miscreants' when describing their opposition to contemporary events.<sup>51</sup> This probably disguises a disinclination to face Heritor or factor on the latter's own ground. In addition the wider spread of the island's population, after the squaring and road-building, made personal contact obligatory and association among like-minded labourers more time consuming. It is not a coincidence that the 'heresy' of Morisonian belief spread so quickly at Balfour Mains farm, even allowing for its covert promotion by the laird.

---

<sup>49</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 13 February 1862 from D.Balfour, Shapinsay to Dr. Baikie, Edinburgh. After the completion of the 'squaring' of Shapinsay David Balfour named a number of his new farms after the success of British arms in the battles of Balaclava, Inkerman and Lucknow. They also symbolise the victory of civilisation over the forces of darkness, in the case of Shapinsay over the old Hill Commons.

<sup>50</sup> D2/16/47, letter of 2 February 1862 from D.Balfour to Barbara Wards, Elwick.

<sup>51</sup> NAS, CH3/1099, Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church of Shapinsay, p. 437, 23 July 1851 and 7 April 1852.

The gradual secularisation of Shapinsay can be charted, therefore, from the break-up of dissenting anti-burgher hegemony, the suppression of proto-industry and the beginnings of modern commercial farming. Devine's 'embryonic capitalist farming class' was now only a decade from existence.<sup>52</sup> By combining research from the Balfour Estate Rental & Valuation Ledger, the stock and cereal prices quoted in Peace's Almanac, the household price lists published in *The Orcadian* and the personal papers of the Craigie family of Haroldsgarth, it is possible to examine per-capita tenant expenditure.<sup>53</sup> In 1857 Magnus Craigie was the tenant of the 45-acre farm of Haroldsgarth in the Gerstie (Kirbuster) area of Shapinsay. He supported a wife and seven children (twelve years and under), his in-laws (the former farmer James Hepburn and his wife Janet) and employed a female farm labourer. The annual rent for a six-year lease amounted to £15 with an option to renew for twenty-two years at £24/12/- per annum. Included in these sums was 12/- poor rate levy and 14/- income tax (for the longer lease). £2/19/- was deducted for 29½ chains of drains and the remainder was paid to the Trenabie Estate in cash. No cereal yields are available for this period but sales of oxen and cows netted £9/6/- and £8/11/6 respectively per animal. The Craigies did not fish and operated their five-field farm on a strict rotation system of grass; turnip; potatoes; oats; clover. Potatoes fetched 3/- per barrel; oats 15/- per quarter (Haroldsgarth produced an average of 42½ quarters per annum), pigs £1/15/- (live) and turnips 2/- per cwt. Horses were valued at £8/8/- but only foals were sold at £2/10/- each (on average one per year). Based on the annual

<sup>52</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 166.

<sup>53</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Rental Book & Valuation Ledger (Appendix L). *The Orkney Almanac* (published by Wm. Peace & Son, Kirkwall); 1848-51; 1852-55; 1856-59 and 1860-63. *The Orcadian*, every edition, from November 1854, carried an index of prices for staple foods and household goods. O.A., D1/5/1, Rent and expenditure of the Craigie family of Haroldsgarth, Shapinsay.

taxation of 14/- the annual profit amounted to approximately £28 (in 1863). The index of food prices stood at 7d for a 4lb loaf; 4d per lb for cheese; 8d per lb for butter and 5½d per lb for beef. No figures are available for the production of the eggs that were exchanged at the Balfour Village shop for some of the aforementioned foods. Although incomes, rents, profits and savings were increasing in this period at between 7-10 per cent per decade, actual savings by Shapinsay's tenant farmers can only be a matter for speculation and their ability to meet the terms of their performance leases is not a guarantee of thrift or profitability.<sup>54</sup> David Balfour put the tenants' problems succinctly when he informed James Smith of Queenebrechan (Stenness, West Mainland) that, 'You must be aware that a tenant's possession for half century is no argument in his favour unless he has improved his farm in proportion to the time he has held it.'<sup>55</sup>

These developments also coincided with the beginnings of mass emigration, a topic of great sensitivity to all Orcadians. The advertisement illustrated on page 182 of this chapter (fig.12) shows that a priority was placed on young, skilled and adaptable islanders of the type who would previously have signed short-term contracts with the Hudson's Bay Company, and who were essential to any developing economy. David Balfour's attitude to emigration is best summarised in a humorous letter to his half-brother George. Although ostensibly complaining of his regular visits to Dr.Gully's clinic at Malvern, he draws this allusion to emigration, 'I look upon Doctors as Satan's squad of Emigration Agents to heat the people out of

---

<sup>54</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 24 October 1857 from D.Balfour to Lodge (?). Although land values are increasing, the lending rate is now at 8% and every landowner faces the same dilemma. Should he sell or risk bankruptcy by retaining land in a depreciating market?

<sup>55</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 29 January 1858 from D.Balfour to J.Smith, Queenebrechan, Stenness.



this world into another...not that I would insinuate anything about emigrants final settlement but as to this the Colonial & Imperial Emigration Agents are equally indifferent.’<sup>56</sup> The carrot of performance leases could only succeed if second sons could be persuaded that their future lay at home, accepting long-term commitments to stocking, six-cycle rotations, and improved machinery and working practices. Stability and profit are powerful incentives but the Trenabie Estate had also to convince its tenants that other changes were imminent. The Great Reform Act of 1832 had brought little or no change to Shapinsay and the Second Reform Act of 1868 was some way off. Whig and Tory rivalries were fading in Orkney and the new Liberal politics was pulling at old alliances. Although describing the latter as ‘long tongued, long pursed Radicals’, his primary concerns (since returning from Edinburgh in 1845) were for the welfare of his estate.<sup>57</sup> In Balfour’s eyes the principal enemy of Orcadian progress was the Dundas Superiority and its Whig allies in Westminster. Describing Lord Zetland as ‘a very shabby figure’ he exhorts the Lord Advocate (Inglis) to,

show the County that the Dundasses are out of favour with the Government at present distributing the loaves and fishes. I know my countrymen well enough to be sure of their anxiety to be ‘of the same side as the hangman’...and if Lord Zetland is out of power the Incapable Cousin will be out of favour with his disinterested supporters.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 11 July 1856 from D. Balfour to G. Balfour, Kirkwall. David Balfour’s concern for other areas of Scotland, deprived by mass emigration of so many of their able-bodied population, is examined in Chapter 7.

<sup>57</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 11 October 1852 from D. Balfour to Inglis, Lord Advocate, Edinburgh.

<sup>58</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 11 October 1852.

Although David Balfour remained at heart an unreformed Tory, and opposed the Free Trade policies of Gladstone, he repeatedly refused invitations to stand for parliamentary election. A Protectionist by inclination and a pragmatist by dint of his local interests, he had a general antipathy for the Nonconformity in contemporary policy-making at Westminster. 'Feeble, squeezable, dishonest Government of Incapables', is his epithet for the administration of 1852.<sup>59</sup>

If David Balfour's overt declarations and actions were aimed at producing an apolitical society at home on Shapinsay, then he required the co-operation of his tenants in creating a prosperous community with an element of chauvinism and exclusivity. In earlier correspondence he had frequently extolled the virtues of a high-minded, patriotic community with a moderate attitude to religion and politics. This did not prevent him from berating successive British Governments for the disproportionate casualties suffered in any 'British' war by an under-represented Scottish populace. In a letter to Sheriff Aytoun, complaining of 'Whiggery & Jobbery' at Westminster, he combined his dislike for emigration and naval recruitment as follows,

in the last war one fifth of our males manned the Royal British Navy and are now given no protection in peacetime by a paternal and Grateful British Government...At present our population is thinned by emigration for better demands (elsewhere) for necessary labour. But were we, as our fathers, to turn our plough shares into swords in defence of our County and our homes. We have had no opportunity of showing ourselves either backward, or forward in the cause. Orkney has none of the imagery of voluntary service enjoyed by other countries, no practical demand for the expression or exhibition of loyalty or patriotism. No naval ships visit Orkney...the English Government expects Orcadians to defend her against the enemies of England.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 22 January 1852 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Charles Buchanan, Inveraray.

<sup>60</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 30 March 1854 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Sheriff Aytoun, Kirkwall.

Numerous relatives had held high rank in the armed forces and two had commanded local, voluntary brigades.<sup>61</sup> Utilising a backdrop of national patriotic zeal (heightened by the Crimean campaign and weekly *Orcadian* articles on the expansionism of the 'Russian Bear'), Shapinsay's farmers and artisans were cajoled into the defence of the Realm from within their own shores.<sup>62</sup> A Voluntary Artillery Corps was formed, armed and supplied less than ten days after Balfour, writing to Captain Craigie in Kirkwall, had pleaded that labour shortages made it impossible to recruit volunteers until social and economic conditions were more favourable, 'our people have the best excuses for not volunteering now.'<sup>63</sup>

The gradual changes in the relationship between proprietor and tenant which are the feature of this section would, the ideology of Voluntarism apart, seem to have shifted very little when viewed through the recruitment list of Shapinsay volunteers for their Artillery Corps.<sup>64</sup> However, this expedient measure of 'social control' cannot be seen in isolation from the other changes that had occurred since February 1846. Whatever the nature of the divisions that now existed between Balfour and his tenants, Shapinsay was now firmly under one management, its purpose illustrated by the command structure of the Artillery Corps.

---

<sup>61</sup> Fereday, *The Orkney Balfours 1747-99*, pp. 176-212.

<sup>62</sup> *The Orcadian*, issues of November 1854 until June 1856 carried a full-page article on the course of the Crimean War.

<sup>63</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 17 November 1858 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Capt. Craigie, Kirkwall. D2/4/7, Muster Roll (29 November 1865) of the Orkney Artillery Volunteers. The list numbers seventy-nine volunteers headed by David Balfour (colonel), William Balfour (captain), Magnus Calder (lieutenant) and William Tait (sergeant-major).

<sup>64</sup> O.A., D2/4/7, Muster Roll of the Orkney Artillery Volunteers (Shapinsay) at Balfour Castle, 29 December 1865. The list is headed by David Balfour (colonel), William Balfour (captain), Marcus Calder (lieutenant) and William Tait (sergeant-major). The other ranks number seventy-nine, virtually all the tenant farmers on Shapinsay plus a number of artisans from Balfour Village.

## Voluntary Corps

While it is difficult to assess the patriotic spirit of Balfour's tenantry during the Crimea War the initial response to Balfour's call to arms was gratifying and suggested, to him, that his earlier policy of divide and rule had borne fruit. Few contemporaries living at the height of the Secession/Voluntarist period of influence could have believed in the possibility of such a demoralising collapse of a community so opposed to voluntary brigades or any corps that they could construe as a standing army. Indeed the initial response of the chastened U.P.Church was to claim that the Artillery Brigade would make unequal and heavy demands on non-corps members. At the end of the previous century the Orkney and Shetland Fencibles (established 1796) had been commanded by Colonel Thomas Balfour of Elwick. Although he had been successful in recruiting a large number of volunteers, his radical opponents in the Anti-Burgher Church claimed that the corps damaged the kelp trade through the absence of so many workers. When they attempted to take legal action against exercises carried out on the land of their members, Thomas Balfour instructed his solicitors to make counter allegations of sedition.<sup>65</sup> On that occasion both parties backed away from a confrontation in the Court of Session, Edinburgh. The social and political climate had, however, undergone many changes by 1865 (founding of the Orkney Artillery Corps, Shapinsay division) and the majority of David Balfour's tenants had reasoned that their future colonel enjoyed the wholehearted support of the larger acreage farmers. Furthermore, there seemed little disadvantage in a service that promised light exercise, free uniforms, good

---

<sup>65</sup> O.A.,D2/4/12, letter of 8 August 1797 from Thomas Balfour, Cliffdale, Shapinsay to A. Bain, Kirkwall.



company and no interference with their agricultural tasks. They were also well accustomed to their laird's insistence on a competitive edge to all of their activities. Moreover, his material gains, honorary rank and social status, were of relative unimportance when balanced against the removal of the threat of eviction or the perils of forced emigration. Pragmatism had never been in short supply to the Orkney farmer.

The contract, which all the Artillery Corps volunteers were required to sign, contained a clause that limited their theatre of activity to 'within the shores of Great Britain and Ireland'.<sup>66</sup> They were unaware, however, of landlord sentiment and reaction prior to the founding of their corps. As early as 1854 Capt. Craigie (the recruiting officer for Orkney and Shetland) had been criticised by Balfour for the duplicity of pairing Orkney with Lewis as one zone of recruitment, therefore preventing the dispatch of many Orcadians to the Crimean War.<sup>67</sup> The probability that Balfour and Traill-Burroughs secretly approved of Craigie's subterfuge is hinted at by a subsequent letter to Sheriff Robertson in Kirkwall that contains the sentence, 'Britain takes our cloak but I am not disposed to our coats also.'<sup>68</sup>

Embedded in the Benthamite theories on utilitarian value and social control is the insistence on a 'non-surplus' population.<sup>69</sup> The Trenabie Estate had actively encouraged immigration from neighbouring islands, after careful vetting, and had

---

<sup>66</sup> *The Orcadian*, 7 August 1865, p. 6, lists the obligations of volunteers for the Shapinsay Rifle Brigade.

<sup>67</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 30 December 1854 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Major-General Wm. Traill-Burroughs, Balaklava, Crimea. The Admiralty had counted Lewis as an Orcadian island on Craigie's advice, 'a clever trick'.

<sup>68</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 22 December 1859 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Sheriff Robertson, Kirkwall.

<sup>69</sup> Appendix M, Abridged Inventory of Nineteenth Century Books and Magazines in Balfour Castle Library. J. Bentham, *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, (London, 1789). This is a well thumbed volume, especially those pages on a 'hedonic calculus' and seems to have shared its

attempted to balance Shapinsay's workforce to accommodate trades and crafts as well as 'improving' tenants and farm servants. The decennial Census sheets show a gradual decrease in the employment of farm servants, the cessation of secondary occupations on improved farms, and the establishment of full-time shops and independent merchants.<sup>70</sup> The recruitment of Artillery Corps volunteers also fits into this category of 'non-surplus' residents. The employment of a professional, resident, drill instructor together with a gas engineer, estate surveyor and two additional school teachers, shows the intent of the proprietor. It is a situation radically different from the social pyramid outlined in Chapter 1. In a letter of March 1861, David Balfour could permit himself this complacent statement about his tenants and their voluntary activities, 'healthy, manly activities for those who are working so well.'<sup>71</sup>

Although there can be little doubt that David Balfour was deeply patriotic he had no intention of allowing two decades of investment and careful planning to stagnate through the dilution of his tenantry. Naval recruitment selected the young and the able-bodied and rarely returned its forced conscripts to their former occupations in large numbers, let alone unharmed. The ten years that followed the initiation of full-scale improved farming had often experienced serious shortages of manpower. The eighty volunteers of 1865 (the two Balfours and their factor are not included in this number) were experienced farmers and artisans and irreplaceable at a time when agriculture was at last beginning to show a decent profit. David Balfour intended to retain his authority over his tenantry but if they were to remain as

---

popularity with the *Westminster Review*, Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (London, 1859) and *Lives of the Engineers* (London, 1862), and John Stuart Mill's *Utilitarianism* (London, 1863).

<sup>70</sup> National Census of Population (reproduced as Appendix A, 1841-91), Orkney Isles, Sheet 28-Shapinsay.

<sup>71</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, letter of 12 March 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Thomson of Burness, Sanday.

progressive lease-holders within the constricts of the Trenaby Estate another element of 'social control' was necessary.

### **Exclusivity as a covert aid to social control**

*Embourgeoisement* is anticipated by Balfour's correspondence, and authorship, in the 1850s and serves to introduce a further element of social control, exclusivity. William Balfour (1719-86), the great-grandfather of David Balfour, had urged his wife to 'cry tatties at the kirk door' and had played an intimate role in mid and late-18<sup>th</sup> century Orcadian society.<sup>72</sup> Buffeted by the failure of the Pundlar Process and by a general lack of outside finance, he had nevertheless enjoyed a personal and everyday relationship with his tenants, shippers and servants.<sup>73</sup> Social exclusivity was restricted to the claim of title, the rebuilt Trenaby House on Westray and the limited advantages of a modest rent-roll. Business activity was of necessity a shared venture with commensurate profits. Three generations later David Balfour had no such need for social intimacy. His frequent protestations of Orcadian ancestry and the longevity of the Trenaby line were not disputed but his pursual of the title 'Balfour of Balfour' (at the Lyon Court in Edinburgh) was intended to raise his stature above more recent, post-Forty-Five incomers to Orkney and suitably impress the emerging middle-classes of Kirkwall.<sup>74</sup> To this end he had already assaulted the

---

<sup>72</sup> R.P.Fereday, 'William Balfour after the Forty-Five', *Orkney Heritage* (Kirkwall, 1981), vol. I, p. 37.

<sup>73</sup> Fereday, *The Lairds of Eighteenth Century Orkney* (unpublished PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1983), pp.56-7. The legal papers for this process (1733-59) are lodged in the O.A., ref. 333Y. This seventeen year long process at the Court of Session, Edinburgh, was mounted by William Balfour and a number of Orcadian landowners against the Earl of Morton for a liberalising of the weights and measures that pertained to the payment of teind and tack. The pursuants lost their action.

<sup>74</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 20 November 1855 from 'Balfour of Balfour' to J. Hall-Maxwell, Edinburgh. This six-page letter explains why David Balfour is fighting for 'his rightful

sensibilities of his neighbours with the erection of Balfour Castle, a private yacht, a castellated gas works and pretensions as historian, antiquarian and poetaster.<sup>75</sup>

The truism that Orkney lagged two generations behind its southern, Scottish, neighbours in wealth, business acumen and status, is not difficult to verify. Few of the County's entrepreneurs could match the earning potential and ostentatious consumption of rivals in the Lothians or Aberdeenshire. Only Lord Zetland enjoyed an income above £30,000 per annum. The status of medium income estates (£15,000 per annum) such as Melsetter (Hoy), Carrick (Eday) or Skaill (West Mainland) rested on earlier times.<sup>76</sup> There had been few newcomers in the post-Napoleonic era apart from Traill-Burroughs at Trumland, Rousay and Sutherland-Graeme at Graemshall, Holm. If the Trenabie Estate was to avoid the mediocrity of its neighbours, David Balfour had to maintain the momentum of his first decade in Shapinsay.

In direct contrast stood the status, and future, of the non-farming minority. The mechanisms of social control mentioned above had been effective in retaining many families and in preventing the large-scale emigration which was so detrimental to the agriculture of the West-Mainland (and particular to Sandwick) areas of Orkney. In the period 1851-71 the population of Mainland Orkney remained stable at approximately 17,000. This figure, however, disguises losses to emigration of 6,000

---

place' at the Lyon Court and his insistence on the title 'Balfour of Balfour' which springs from a long-standing feeling of injustice.

<sup>75</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 13 December 1859 from D. Balfour to G. Craigie-Balfour, Hascom. Although this letter is one of congratulation to the addressee for his *Times* review (no date available) of Mottley's *Dutch Republic*, Balfour uses it to parade his knowledge of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and the rise and fall of the Spanish Hapsburgs, 'the jackdaw was plucked by one of its own'. A further letter, of 22 January 1861, to the editor of *Notes and Enquiries* in London disputes the authenticity of Pomona as an early name for Orkney.

<sup>76</sup> The estates of Melsetter, Carrick and Skaill had been the homes of the Moodie, Stewart and Watt families who had traded as merchant lairds up to second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With the failure of kelp, linen and lint making ventures they were unable to re-invest in improved farming.



(mainly young adult males) and left a ratio of 55:45 in favour of female inhabitants. The figures relative to the West Mainland are 3,500 with a female/male ratio of 58:42.<sup>77</sup> Although a closer analysis of this section of the population (on Shapinsay alone) shows a diminishing number of artisans and a correspondingly larger number of domestic or labouring workers, the total population did not fall below a stable number of between 935 and 940. Graphs A and D (Appendix F) demonstrate this trend against a stable farming and diminishing fishing population. Appendix J (internal movement within Shapinsay) shows that from an initial, undisturbed, total of thirty families, the stability of the population increased with every decade.<sup>78</sup> In this context it is important to gauge the relationship between Heritor and tenant/employee as it developed across two generations of occupancy.

### **Changing relationships between Heritor and tenant.**

Initially the mid-period (1858-65) correspondence of heritor and tenant (much less frequent) reflects a tacit acceptance of the new economic farming and a more specialised, demarcated, society. Proud of his relationship with his tenantry in this period, David Balfour often lapsed into euphoria, as this extract from January 1858 illustrates, 'They cannot like me better than I like them. Indeed I feel proud of being the largest proprietor in the Islands of such tenants and such farming.'<sup>79</sup> In direct contrast is the more sanguine admission to the same addressee at an earlier date, 'a

<sup>77</sup> Barclay, *The population of Orkney 1755-1961*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>78</sup> Appendix F, Graph A-Occupational Graph of Shapinsay; Graph D-Dependants Graph for Shapinsay; Appendix J, Movement of Shapinsay's Tenant Families.

<sup>79</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 25 January 1858 from D.Balfour, Shapinsay to the Parochial School Board, Edinburgh.

few months ago I was abused as a tyrant'.<sup>80</sup> A humorous mention of a special dinner given in his honour continues the theme, 'the dinner was given for my public usefulness! A few years ago they would as soon have eaten me than give me a dinner!'<sup>81</sup>

On a strictly materialistic basis, the relationship between landowner and tenant was of course much altered after the completion of the last draining work in 1868. In the microcosm of one island the rental income from 115 tenanted farms had doubled in a generation (1838-78), and increased by 250% for the thirty farms of 100 acres or more. The index for beef and cereal production, for the same period, shows increases of 500% and 200% in market prices.<sup>82</sup> Coupling these figures with the growing preference for non-agrarian occupations by the second born, where a longer period of education and non participation in manual labour were essential, a picture emerges of a tenantry moving slowly, but substantially, towards a secure financial and social status.<sup>83</sup> The perceived Orcadian situation of a grasping landowning class, racking rents and squeezing its tenants to the detriment of its very future, is unsubstantiated and inaccurate in the case of Shapinsay (and for Trenabie property on Stronsay and Westray).

Returning to David Balfour's tactic of ostentation and other overt declarations of architectural taste, it is interesting to observe that he was concerned

---

<sup>80</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 5 February 1853 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to the Parochial School Board.

<sup>81</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 1 May 1854 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to D. Smith, Smith & Kinnear W.S., Edinburgh.

<sup>82</sup> *The Orkney Almanac*, editions (not numbered) of 1848-51; 1852-55; 1856-59; 1860-62; 1863-5 and 1866-68.

<sup>83</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/122, Balfour Estate Rental & Valuation Ledger (Appendix L). Appendix H, Index of Rentals for Shapinsay Farms (1847-70). O.A., VR111, Valuation Rolls for the County of Orkney. Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-91. From 1871, onwards, a significant number of second siblings are not engaged in farm work and are transferring their interests to school teaching and clerical positions.

about, 'the improvement of their habits and condition...to set a good example of that most desirable but rare virtue!!..the bonafide exhibition of taste, order and neatness in All occupiers of Cottages and Cottage Gardens'.<sup>84</sup> He was also concerned that all his tenants' farm buildings were not unsightly or ill-constructed and that the villagers at Balfour were well housed, as this extract from a letter to a fellow patient at Malvern can testify, 'I began with a good house for myself and I have been making a great improvement of the Cottages here since 1846 and I Question if there is such a comfortable set of Cottages in Scotland as you will see at Balfour...the changes are mostly for the better.'<sup>85</sup> Every lease (which allowed the tenant to build his own farmhouse and outbuildings) stipulated the location, type of stone and style of building. The size of houses that were constructed had to conform, 'according to the nature and worth of surrounding land.'<sup>86</sup> This is an indirect way of saying that the farmer is entitled to comfortable, hygienic, living conditions but that the Heritor's superior status allows him to enjoy his material possessions at a distance from his tenant. In essence Balfour's cultural pretensions matched his paternalistic affections for 'his' people. The inside-cover of a compilation of traditional Orcadian airs and fiddle music, the cover is illustrated below (Fig.13), is credited to 'a collection by Colonel David Balfour of Balfour'. There is no attribution, within this splendidly printed and illustrated book, to the native composers of this music.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 4 October 1855 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Hall-Maxwell, Highland Society, Edinburgh.

<sup>85</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 9 March 1854 to Mrs H. Weston, Grange-over-Sands.

<sup>86</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 30 November 1852 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to D. Smith, Smith & Kinnear W.S.

<sup>87</sup> Col. D. Balfour of Balfour, *Ancient Orkney Melodies* (Edinburgh, 1885). In Balfour's introduction (page XVII) he says, 'I have ventured to marry some of them to lines of my own.'

# ANCIENT ORKNEY MELODIES

COLLECTED BY

COLONEL DAVID BALFOUR OF BALFOUR



EDINBURGH  
BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO.  
1885

Fig. 13. Cover of 1885 edition of *Ancient Orkney Melodies*.

These pretensions also connect with attempts to control the intellectual and cultural life of the community. Balfour was proud of his tenants' ability to read and write but, as mentioned above, he was quite capable of censoring certain publications.<sup>88</sup> Although Balfour had manoeuvred many a former Dissenter away from his anti-burgher church by a combination of propaganda and pragmatism, he had been candid in appraising their reasons for opposing the *status quo*, 'They are a very moral, and generally well informed class for whom the negligence of the Scottish Church has made almost every thinking man a Dissenter'.<sup>89</sup> He would not

<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 5, pp.198-199, footnote 40.

<sup>89</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 28 February, 1853 from D.Balfour, Shapinsay to addressee unknown.



have agreed, however, with Thomson's suggestion that, 'self-improvement in the same way involved distancing one's self both in language and thought from the dialect and folk-beliefs of an earlier age.'<sup>90</sup> The latter's unease at Balfour's attempts at, 'creating his own Medieval dream-world', or the 'destruction of the real Middle-Ages' (see page 202 and note 47, above), would perhaps be more appropriate if they had been aimed at the social and intellectual pretensions of the Romantic Movement in nineteenth-century Europe. The 'real Middle-Ages' had washed through Orkney's social system centuries before and although David Bryce's Balfour Castle is 'Scottish Baronial' at the height of its expressiveness, it must be seen as the representation of contemporary fashion and taste as expressed by nineteenth century neo-romanticism. Bryce's Fettes College (1853) in Edinburgh and Kuijper's Centraal Station and Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, are other splendid examples of this style.<sup>91</sup>

### **The outcome of a changing social relationship**

The Balfour Papers make it perfectly clear that their author sincerely desired lasting prosperity, sound public hygiene, proper education and social advancement for succeeding generations of Orcadians. While this probably did not match the egalitarian ambitions of many of his tenants, it was a significant step in arresting the wasteful consequences of the 'real Middle-Ages' i.e. disease, over-population and over-crowding, poor irrigation and negligent, absentee, stewardship.

---

<sup>90</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 415.

<sup>91</sup> C.J.D. Kuijpers, Netherlands architect, (1811-1879), was in receipt of numerous prestigious commissions both in Amsterdam and Haarlem in the Netherlands. His works are regarded as a crowning point of the neo-Gothic style that also informed and influenced the work of David Bryce (1803-1876).

The significance, therefore, of the ostentation of 'Scottish Baronial', steam yachts, teams of matched Shetland ponies or leiter in an oak panelled music room, is social exclusiveness. The extension of Balfour Castle to include an Episcopalian chapel (completed, after David Balfour's death, in 1889) is one more overt statement in a paternalistic society where 'my' people and 'my island' have been given a visual dimension. Poetical and musical pretensions are obvious progressions from a Scottish 'enlightened' education in the same way as improved farming, self-help and a disregard for doctrinal theology were the fruits of its teaching. Enlightenment in David Balfour's canon of certainties was irreconcilable with egalitarianism. Nevertheless, the 'science' of social control and the pragmatism of a secular society, fitted his ideal community of Shapinsay and many another island society.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letters of 26 December 1856 and 30 August 1859 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to (respectively) MacKenzie of Gairloch and N. Pringle, Dublin. The possibility of a 'blueprint' for other outlying areas of Great Britain is discussed in Chapter Seven.

## Chapter Six

### **‘A quiescent society’ or a pragmatic tenantry on the eve of high agriculture.**

The absence of organised or communal dissent in the Shapinsay of the post-improvement generation can, possibly, be attributed to a quiescent populace preoccupied with the demands of the new agrarian economy. Thomson has commented that while Orcadian society was generally ‘sober and tractable’ under the former influence of the minister and laird, ‘human nature does not take easily to ...heavy-handed paternalism.’<sup>1</sup> However, the strained relationship between Moderate minister and unappreciative parishioner, described in Chapter 3, had largely subsided by the third quarter of the nineteenth century with the former no longer fulfilling a central role in a rapidly changing society. In addition, the many ill-defined duties of former years had vanished in the wake of contractual obligations. On Shapinsay the minister of the established Kirk was negotiating a new feu for his Glebe and contact between Heritor and tenant was minimal.

Chapter 5 has revealed that one element of David Balfour’s ‘social control’ was an attempt to limit the influence of radical print culture.<sup>2</sup> The broader appeals of contemporary, invariably external, opinion have not hitherto been explored.

---

<sup>1</sup> W.P.L.Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 198-199.

## External conduits of radical opinion

As external conduits of radical ideology the fledgling newspapers, mentioned in Chapter 5, fell into two categories. The first category, personally funded and edited, were usually a vehicle for rectification or re-instatement i.e. one-issue broadsheets. These publications, typified by Alexander Peterkin's *Orkney & Zetland Gazette*, the *Orkney and Shetland Journal* or the *Orkney and Zetland Telegraph*, had a finite time-span and rarely concerned or even reached the general population.<sup>3</sup> They eschewed radical solutions to the very situations they were opposing and broadly sought the return of an *ante-status quo*. On a purely commercial level they supported a communal approach to agriculture or proto-industrial development.

The second category includes the long-running commercial newspapers, *The Orcadian*, the *John o'Groat Journal* and *The Orkney Herald*.<sup>4</sup> At inception all three publications strongly supported Erastian principles, a strengthening of transport infrastructures, progressive farming practices and were broadly patriotic on issues of British foreign policy and Free Trade. Reporting on the Disraeli/DuCane budget of 1855 *The Orcadian* commented,

---

<sup>3</sup> *The Orkney & Zetland Gazette* was printed and published in Edinburgh from 1824 to 1826 by Alexander Peterkin who had been recently dismissed from his post as Sheriff-substitute for the County of Orkney. As a principal campaigner for the retention of udal tenure in the Northern Isles, Peterkin used his newspaper to canvas support for a broadening of the franchise for the two counties. Samuel Laing of Papdale (Kirkwall) was the financial backer of Arthur Anderson's *Shetland Journal* (briefly renamed the *Orkney and Shetland Journal*) which ran from 1836 to 1839. It was mainly concerned with the promotion of a viable fishing industry in Shetland and with a retention of the kelp industry in both islands. William Peace's *Orkney and Zetland Telegraph* survived from 1878 to 1885, campaigning unsuccessfully for subsidies to counteract the importation of cheap cereals from the U.S.A. and Canada.

<sup>4</sup> The *John o'Groat Journal* (1836- ), *The Orcadian* (1854- ) and *The Orkney Herald* (1860-1961) usually circulated in Orkney as second-hand copies to tenants and servants. None can be initially regarded as radical publications, changing organically to a Liberal agenda by the early 1870's.



The leading idea...is that in which all Sir Robert Peel's finance has been said to centre and which may be stated as consisting in industrious enterprise instead of cheap idleness. It is a policy in perfect accordance with the character of this nation and with the way it has risen to its present unexampled prosperity and greatness<sup>5</sup>

The same edition welcomed the Orkney Turnpike Act of 1856 but, nevertheless, felt obliged to offer the following criticism on the proposed stretch of new road between St.Margaret's Hope and Herston (South Ronaldsay),

Surely the committee would...strive to do something. They have done no such thing. They have flatly declined the proposal...But we trust that, since the wish of the people is so general for the construction of that line of road, the trustees thereby perform in a legal manner that act of justice to the inhabitants, which indirectly we are thus striving to perform towards them.<sup>6</sup>

*The Orcadian* was especially strident in bemoaning Southern (anywhere south of the Pentland Firth) intransigence in the institutions charged with liberation of the franchise, rateable property values or comparisons with neighbouring Gaelic-speaking regions. The *John o'Groat Journal* shared its northern chauvinism and printed a travel account by David Balfour in its edition of 5 September 1861 which illustrates Orcadian (and Caithness) attitudes to their Highland neighbours;

The proper diocese of St. Swithin, the MacIntosh country, where strangers are obliged to suffice with India rubber, the absence of the native skin of natural waterproof into rhinoceros leather by hereditary deposits of dirt & their language seems to be an attempt to grammaticise all natural inarticulate sounds, bleating, bellowing, howling, spitting, sneezing, grunting with embellishment suggested by a blunt saw...and the native bagpipes. It seems to have been invented before the discovery of the mouth as the only civilised exit of speech. If Adam spoke Gaelic I hardly wonder that Eve should have been captivated with the sound of the

---

<sup>5</sup> *The Orcadian*, 23 February 1860, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *The Orcadian*. 23 February 1860, p. 3.

Serpent's language, uttered by the mouth and preferable to sounds that seem to come from every other orifice of the body.<sup>7</sup>

Correspondence columns frequently carried irate, but usually anonymous, denials of Orkney's 'Highlands and Islands' status in official statistical publications and adhered fervently to a perceived uniqueness in their indigenous culture (examined fully in Chapter 7). Internal Orcadian reports, usually submitted by landowners or their agents, concentrated on parish business whether religious or secular (David Balfour &/or Marcus Calder used the pseudonym 'Agricola' as outlined in Chapter 5). These reports were of course 'buried' in the centre pages that befits a publication which assumes that its readership, and its subscribers, have a primary commercial interest and prefer to peruse 'hard' news at their leisure. Fig. 14 (below) is a typical example, from January 1859, in which public and commercial advertising is printed on the front page under the caption 'A Literary and Commercial Advertiser'.

---

<sup>7</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 2 September 1861 from D.Balfour to J.Kerr, *John o'Groat Journal*.



Fig. 14 Front page from *The Orcadian*- January 1859

Where ever 'hard' news was located it had little truck with radical sympathies in this period but is, nevertheless, a reliable indicator of the progressive introduction of Orkney into the developing consumerism and service industries of the U.K.

One external development that was ultimately beyond the influence of *The Orcadian*, or landowner, was the eventual extension of the popular franchise. In a society that had enjoyed minimal parliamentary or burgh representation, and had paid more attention to the strictures of kirk session or Temperance Union, the movement for universal suffrage was slow to gather momentum. David Balfour had

campaigned vigorously for additions to the voters' roll in the hope of recruiting his more successful tenants for the Tory cause. Suspicious of the First Reform Act, he cannot have foreseen the legislation of the next generation.

### **Early franchise reform and religious schisms.**

The modest increase in the franchise caused by the First Reform Act of 1832 hardly impacted on the rural population of Orkney. In Shapinsay the number of voters increased by two (to seven) and in the County of Orkney as a whole, the total electorate rose from 381 to only 395. The Royal Burgh of Kirkwall increased its number by four to a total of twenty-four. Prior to the Second Reform Act of 1868 Shapinsay had managed to increase its voters roll to thirteen (the original seven plus the estate factor and five tenants on the 100 acre plus farms).<sup>8</sup> Although the prospering middle stratum of merchants, shopkeepers and tradesmen had been mollified by the Burgh Reform Act of 1833, with its elective system for town councillors, a legacy of disaffection remained over the parliamentary franchise. This strata, although Voluntarist in their adherence to principles of the United Presbyterian Church, were innately conservative. They were not enthused by doctrinal dispute and took consolation in the popularity of their East Kirk (Sunday services attracted attendances of 1,500 members) and their *eminence gris*, the Rev. Dr. Robert Paterson (1820-1869 as minister of the U.P., formerly Secession Church). As outlined in Chapter 2 Paterson had been given short shrift by David Balfour

---

<sup>8</sup> O.A., SC11/86/11/2, Records of Kirkwall Sheriff Court. The qualification for liferenters was £10, outlined in AP., Victoria 24 & 25, Chap. 83.



when he had attempted to assume a high moral stance in the 'Promiscuous Dancing Affair' on Shapinsay. Nevertheless, many of his Kirkwall congregation had progressed from Brown's 'suffering remnant' of 1733 to 'the socially mobile and aspiring of urban and industrial districts', more than a century later.<sup>9</sup> The volatility of political meetings in Kirkwall (notable for the assault on and death of a parliamentary candidate outside Kirkwall Town Hall in 1866) were a reminder that the issue of universal male suffrage would remain a contentious issue until a decade after the Second Reform Act.

The Disruption of 1843 was only successful in detaching a congregation from the established Kirk (in Orkney) where a popular preacher was able to persuade his rural parishioners of the partiality of their former incumbent to vested proprietorial interest. This was especially true in the parishes of Sourin (Rousay), Skelwick (Westray) and Evie (West Mainland) where the Deed of Demission was seen as a potential instrument of opposition to hard-faced landlords.<sup>10</sup> This in turn drew a variety of reaction from proprietors, none more fierce than that on Rousay by W.F. Traill-Burroughs.<sup>11</sup> On the Trenabie Estate the tenants in Evie had gone over to the Free Church and in building their new place of worship they faced David Balfour in his most intransigent mood. While agreeing to his tenants' rights to freedom of worship he nevertheless inserted a clause in the lease for the Free Church buildings and glebe which stipulated adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The

---

<sup>9</sup> Brown, *Religion & Society in Scotland since 1707*, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> The Deed of Demission was signed in May 1843 by 474 ministers (out of a total of 1,200) of the Church of Scotland, severing their adherence to that church and forming the Free Church of Scotland. Issues of patronage and presentation were central to this Disruption and in the case of the congregations of Sourin, Skelwick and Evie underlined their opposition to unpopular Heritors (W.F. Traill-Boroughs and D. Balfour).

<sup>11</sup> Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters*, pp. 146-150.

future relationship between Heritor and Free Church attending tenant is typified by the following,

Who occupies my ground against my wish or at least without my consent is one of the most pestilent and illconditioned sowers of mischief among this whole black (guard) fraternity. I will give him a charter as my father was willing to do...while they adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith on payment of a feu duty...We are surrounded by small Free Church lairds...A thorn in the side of the most harmless of my (natural) enemies, the Parsons.<sup>12</sup>

On Shapinsay, however, the Kirk minister designate (the Rev. James Gibb) had joined the schismatic clergy before his formal ordination leaving the way clear to the Moderate candidate the Rev. Scott. Although Scott's Moderate predecessors had been unpopular, the remaining Church of Scotland members were unlikely to tolerate yet another splinter group, especially as they had already resisted the popularity of the Secession Church (which in turn was divided by the Morisonians). The non-dissenting population of Shapinsay merely wished a new, competent, minister and regular attention to the traditional functions of the Kirk.

At the time of the Reformation Thomson believes that,

the community at large was...not greatly concerned with religious disputes-as far as we can see there was little dissatisfaction with Catholicism and only isolated instances of much enthusiasm for Protestantism. There is a distinct impression that for many people religion was a secondary issue-it was church land rather than faith which caused passions to run high.<sup>13</sup>

Subsequent generations of Orcadians had been generally lukewarm in their appreciation of the Reformation and had avoided the excesses of iconoclasm.

---

<sup>12</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/45, letter of 14 January 1852, from D. Balfour, Shapinsay, to D. Smith of Smith & Kinnear W.S., Edinburgh.

<sup>13</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 247.

Destruction of church property, when and where it (rarely) occurred, was invariably connected to the political, dynastic or acquisitive struggles of southern nobles anxious to dismantle Bishopric &/or Stewart privilege. From the dusk of Stewart influence, through Hanoverian rule, and past the post-Napoleonic era, Orkney's representatives were firmly in the grip of Edinburgh and Whitehall's agents and aristocratic tacksmen. Periodical eruptions such as the eighteenth-century 'kelp riots' (see Chapter 1) on Stronsay or the destruction of fencing and dykes on the Holm Estate in the 1820's, did not involve large numbers of the local population and were restricted to isolated locations. The Pundlar Process (1733-1756) was played out at the Court of Session in Edinburgh, over the heads of the majority of Orcadians, and the contemporaneous sequestration of the estates of Jacobite supporters gained sympathy for some of the local gentry but did not stimulate any physical reaction from their social inferiors.

Returning, briefly, to the printed word it is not difficult to discern a gradual shift of emphasis from a proprietorial view to a wide-ranging social agenda which led to the condemnation of W.F. Traill-Burroughs by *The Orcadian* and support for the crofting community of Sourin in Rousay. David Balfour's concluding statement to his tenants at the dinner honouring Marcus Calder (quoted in full in Chapter 5, above) are an earlier indication of this change of emphasis. His tenants may have groaned inwardly at, 'I must remind you that our work is neither finished nor our improvements completed,' but would have agreed that, 'the experience of the past inspires us with confidence as to future success.'<sup>14</sup> The same report in *The Orcadian*

---

<sup>14</sup> *The Orcadian*, 1 August 1859. Report on presentation by Shapinsay tenants to Marcus Calder (20 July 1859) with David Balfour in the chair.

was counterpoised with extracts from the *Irish Farmers Gazette* (of the same year) which bemoan the decline of the fishing industry on the west coast of Ireland and attempts to justify Balfour's own changes and improvements on Orkney, principally in Shapinsay.

The First and Second Reform Acts did not have an immediate effect on the small Orcadian electorate and, consequently, prior to passing of the Third Reform Act of 1885 the appeal of national political parties was limited. The parochial nature of these sentiments does not, however, discount the importance of external political influences in the broadening of the franchise, and in the enduring appeal of the Liberal Party up to and including the present day.

### **External political influences**

By the end of our period (1875) the Liberal Party had consolidated its support among the emergent commercial farmers and attracted the last remnants of the old Whig landowner-class although ex-Peelite Tories (David Balfour amongst them) remained aloof. The Free Trade orthodoxy of this period was attractive to a generation who had no wish to return to their parents' struggles with Corn Law apologists nor to engage in the continuance of anti-Catholic emancipation (in Orkney of practically no relevance and only attracting the attention of Balfour and a few contemporaries) which had featured so prominently in early correspondence columns of *The Orcadian*.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> *The Orcadian*, 23 February 1860. Leading article and subsequent correspondence.



The ethos of self-help has already been explored in Chapter 5 and it is sufficient, at this stage, to suggest that the tutelage of David Balfour, the Highland Agricultural Society and a host of acolytes, had permeated their screen of 'grudging respect' along with long-term performance leases and 'green' crops.

The farmers of Shapinsay had seen little change in their representation since the First Reform Act of 1832 and David Balfour had been unable to utilise its limited franchise to enroll his larger tenants as potential Tory supporters.<sup>16</sup> His violent opposition to Liberal foreign policy (not important to his tenants) was paired with a specific dislike for successive administrations that had displayed a predilection for identifying 'problem' areas in rural Scotland, especially when they included Orkney in their Highlands and Islands solutions. He had admonished Sheriff Aytoun for permitting, 'such an unclean deluge of Whiggery to flood this country from the blatant throats of Thomas Moncrieff and Carlisle and more grotesque gargoyles'.<sup>17</sup> Foreign policy objections can be summed up by his objection to the conduct of the Crimea War and in particular to the administration headed by Lord Aberdeen. Writing to James Ferrer MP, Balfour had this to say about Lord Aberdeen,

If the reverse of the Crimea is confirmed I hope some one will be patriotic enough to impeach the old scoundrel and surely it cannot be allowed that our splendid fleet is to sneak home from the Baltic without some greater trophy than Bomersund and no one be called to account for it!<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 6, p.5.

<sup>17</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letters of 18 December 1852 and 11 April 1853 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to (resp.) D. Horne, Langwell and Prof. Aytoun, Sheriff of Orkney. Lord Moncrieff of Tulliebole (1811-95) was briefly Lord Advocate, in 1851, and Justice Clerk in 1869.

<sup>18</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 10 November 1854 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Ferrer MP, House of Commons. George Hamilton Gordon, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen, was Prime Minister from 1852-5.

Horne, the former Home Secretary, was in receipt of an equally intemperate attack on Aberdeen, described by Balfour as full of 'folly & ignorance, hereditary as the title of Newcastle'.<sup>19</sup> Hall-Maxwell, secretary of the Highland Agricultural Society, was also the victim of Balfour's ire for his reliance on 'narrow statistics' and for,

The article in the Edinburgh Advertiser is incorrect in suggesting that Orkney and Shetland are still in the course of arrangement. We are one of the Northern Counties of Scotland and not a whole region. The physical barriers which separate them (from Northern Scotland) do not present inseparable barriers nor weeks of effort.<sup>20</sup>

In avoiding the mainstream of agitation for industrial/agricultural organisation of Britain's labouring population, Orkney was not subject to the intensity of radical sentiment that was shaping the emerging mass politics. This set a societal trend in the islands which resonates through to present-day attitudes and voting patterns. However, in the uncertain years of rapid agricultural change, the period between the First and Second Reform Acts saw a continual re-positioning of political alliances at a national level which, in turn, influenced Orkney's contact and connections with mainland Britain.

This also explains David Balfour's subsequent refusal to take direct political action, by either accepting nomination for Westminster or by recruiting suitable Tory candidates. His dislike for *laissez-faire* economics, and the Government's support for Catholic emancipation, broadened his mistrust of Whitehall's policies. In a series of letters to the future Tory Lord Advocate, John Inglis, he mentions the forming of an Orkney Conservative Association as a support body for the latter's candidature for

---

<sup>19</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 23 November 1854 from D. Balfour to D. Horne, Langwell.

<sup>20</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 27 January 1855, from D. Balfour to Hall-Maxwell, Edinburgh.

the 1852 Parliamentary election. Inglis's subsequent defeat was bemoaned by Balfour in the following sentiments, 'that one of the first men in Scotland should fail twice in obtaining so paltry a distinction as a seat in Parliament...Perhaps, while I am writing, Government no longer means Lord Derby.'<sup>21</sup> Pragmatism, and possibly the new breed of party politician, was turning the traditional landed aristocrat away from less complaint administrations and the 'jobsworthy' culture of former years. In future all calls for his candidature for Westminster, the last was in 1861, were met with a polite but non-committal reply such as, 'I have no desire to undertake such a responsible duty.'<sup>22</sup>

If, as suggested earlier in this chapter, Balfour's tenants had benefited little from the First Reform Act, they were not overly excited by the impending Second Act.<sup>23</sup> In fact the 1868 Act only applied to the Burghs of Scotland and only where a householder franchise was relevant. The Heritor/landlord interest group had formerly been agitated by the Burgh Reform Act of 1833 (as outlined in Chapter 3) but had felt little threat from the limited reform of the franchise in the previous year. Narrowing the electorate of Orkney to Shapinsay, and utilising the Rent Book & Valuation Ledger, we can identify approximately forty tenants who were potential qualifiers at rents extending upwards from £10 per annum.<sup>24</sup> As explained in Chapter 5, this period also coincided with the dilution of socio-political protest as pursued

---

<sup>21</sup> O.A. D2/16/46, letter of 14 October 1852 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Lord Inglis, Edinburgh. John Inglis W.S. (1810-1891) was appointed Lord Advocate in 1858 and in 1867 was made Justice General, as Lord Glencorse.

<sup>22</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 21 December 1861, from D. Balfour to Thomas Slater (no address).

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter 6, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> O.A., D2/122, Balfour Estate Rent Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay (Appendix L). On the eve of the Second Reform Act (1868) the exact figure of £10, and above, rentals was 34 out of a total of 115. Balfour's second phase of improvement gradually raised this figure to 90 by 1875. The Trenabie Estate farms of Waltness, Odenstone, Monquhanny, Westness and Ness, were managed before this period and are not included in the earlier figure.

through kirk-session, Rechabite Lodge or Temperance Union meeting.<sup>25</sup> A confluence of the aspirations of the new, market-orientated, stock-breeder (proto-capitalist), the dilution of the Calvinist dogma of Pre-destination, the more amenable doctrine of self-salvation and the absence of a radicalising industrial population, gave local Orcadian communities a new perspective on the decades ahead.

Before, however, examining the above four co-related factors it is noteworthy that Heritor and tenant appeared to be moving slowly in opposite directions in their appreciation of Smout's 'blind worship of custom'.<sup>26</sup> Improved farming methods had already consigned most of eighteenth century practice and custom to no more than that of a memory. From faughing with bladder-wrack, slaughtering cattle at full-moon, suspending a goat's carcass from the first cod-boat of the season or never ploughing pasture after the sowing of grass seed, the tenant with a vested interest in the new export culture had little time or patience for the past. While non-changing circumstances had suited the easy equilibrium of deferred rents (in poor harvest years) and casual deference, it was David Balfour who showed the preference for an affirmation of the traditional qualities of adaptability and resilience and an

---

<sup>25</sup> The Shapinsay Total Abstinence Society was closely allied to the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and held its annual soirees at the latter's Shapinsay church. *The Orcadian*, of 23 February 1860, reported that 'the company of 250 separated, highly delighted with the evening's entertainment.' At that time it was the only secular venue for 'sweet music'. Like its sister organisation, the Independent Order of Rechabites, this Temperance Union society also ran a benefit society for mutual insurance against illness and old age. The larger tenant farmers, who were not so partial to the Union, were insured through their leases with the North British Insurance Company in Edinburgh. The Abstinence Society took as their guiding text, Jeremiah 35:6, 'Jonadab, the son of Rechab our father, commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever.' Alcoholic drink was available on Shapinsay at the 'Waves Hotel' in Balfour Village. Run by the veteran joiner, James McRobbie, on a site adjacent to Elwick harbour, it was intended to cock a snout at the teetotalers and accommodate admiring visitors to David Balfour's 'island extraordinaire'. While the Abstinence Society was probably a late, but feeble, challenge to Balfour after his eviction of the U.P. elders in 1848, he had no intention of allowing 'his people' to be dictated to by fundamentalist rhetoric or dogma. With the gradual decline in the U.P.'s membership, the popularity of the Orkney Artillery Corps and rapid embourgeoisment of the farming community, the 'Waves Hotel' experiment became redundant.

<sup>26</sup> T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, (London, 1968), p. 118.



unfashionable (amongst his tenants) loyalty to the old songs and stories of his childhood on Shapinsay.<sup>27</sup>

The importance of external influences in raising the political awareness of Orcadians is also relevant to co-related matters of self-confidence and social cohesion. A population which was no longer beholden to its proprietors and spiritual leaders for a lead in opinion making was embracing the new material culture of contemporary Britain. On Shapinsay the expansion of the franchise, based on rental payments, reinforced tenants' confidence in the permanence of their status as capitalist farmers. Increasingly, their proprietor was delegating estate matters to a griever (Marcus Calder's duties with the Artillery Corps, School Board and Harbour Trust were now added to those of farmer at Elwickbank) and concentrating his energies on intellectual pursuits. The fact that Simon Leitch, the griever, was lodged at Elwickbank farm and was not the feared second-in-command of the Trenabie Estate, must have given an added sense of equality and cohesiveness to Shapinsay's farmers.<sup>28</sup>

#### **Four co-related factors in raising tenant confidence.**

The first indications of permanency of tenure were not apparent to the whole population of Shapinsay. The four points identified above, on page 235, are of course more applicable to pastoral communities and expose a tangential problem, that of a

---

<sup>27</sup> Balfour, *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs. A Memorial for Orkney*. Although the underlying 'message' of this book is the unjustness of southern incomers and their suppression of the unwritten odal law, the sub-text is a colourful attempt to cloud the past in a mist of evocation. Steadfast odallers withstanding 'feudal aggression...held forward as a boon to reform.'

<sup>28</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay.

widening gap between artisan and farmer. There is no doubt, based on Balfour's correspondence, that the aspirations of the emerging capitalist stock-farmer was a factor readily accepted by Shapinsay's proprietor. In a letter to the newly promoted Major-General Frederick Traill-Burroughs, (he did not return to Rousay until 1870) David Balfour set the scene for a bountiful Orkney, '6,000 cattle have left Orkney since March', and continued,

I mean improvements in the highest sense, the social improvements of the people, for though I were to improve the whole County physically and agriculturally, it is little if the tenants are not at once the agents and objects of the work, and thus partaking in the social, moral and religious rise in their position and prospects.<sup>29</sup>

The long, performance-related, leases of nineteen or twenty-one years duration were not only a commitment for heritor and tenant, they represented success for the former and status and pride for the latter. The crop compts for the Trenabie Estate bear witness to impressive yield gains, especially on Shapinsay. Fig. 15 (below) traces the improved yields from the last period of subsistence farming (1830-1845) to the height of 'high agriculture' in the mid 1870s.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 22 July 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Major-General F.W. Traill-Burroughs, Aldershot.

<sup>30</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/45/2-15.

Year	Bere	Oats	Wheat
1830-39	1,230 quarters	1,890 quarters	750 quarters
1840-49	1,466 quarters	2,489 quarters	980 quarters
1850-59	1,250 quarters	3,156 quarters	1,022 quarters
1860-69	1,074 quarters	3,350 quarters	1,357 quarters
1870-75	989 quarters	3,890 quarters	1,589 quarters

Fig. 15 Table of Crop Yields for Shapinsay 1830-1875.

The gradual replacement of bere with the more successful, modern, strains of barley and the increased yields of the traditional oats crop (mainly through heavy use of lime balls at four tons per acre) is on public display in the annual *Peace's Almanac*, the weekly pages of *The Orcadian* and the compt records of the Trenabie Estate.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the relative success of these innovations, it is more revealing to plot increased yields (and interconnected stock exports) against rental revenue and, separately, against estate profit margins. If Smout (quoting liberally from George Robertson's *Rural Recollections*) is to be taken at face value then the rapid progress of improved farming, its first generation successes and the new (to Orkney) phenomenon of tidy self-contained farms, went a long way to endorsing Balfour's 'carrot and stick' tactics described in Chapter 5.<sup>32</sup> Although the individual

<sup>31</sup> *Peace's Orkney and Shetland Almanac* was founded by William Peace in 1864 and provides an invaluable statistical guide to the officialdom, business personnel, imports and exports, and productivity of the islands.

<sup>32</sup> Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 68, quoting from G. Robertson, *Rural Reflections*, (Irvine, 1829) pp. 280-1. The reference ends, 'It may not always be by benevolent paternalism that economic good is maximised for the community.'

profitability of the Shapinsay farmer is difficult to calculate with precise accuracy, Chapter 5 has already testified that the Rental Book & Valuation Ledger and the surveys of tenant acreages and leases attesting to their upward mobility, are a reliable guide to the growth of separate, self-contained, agro-businesses.

Obtaining proof of the 'new' farming's success in suppressing radical political ideology, or merely opposition to landlord control, is equally hazardous. Chapter 5 illustrated David Balfour's attempts to control his tenants reading material by distributing free copies of pro-improvement literature and his refusal to bring in proscribed (by him) journals. Any attempt to stem the tide of progressive Liberal legislation or to deny their success in fusing rural support in Scotland, or in Orkney, was recognised as futile by Balfour and fellow Tories. As he told Traill of Ratter (MP for Orkney & Zetland), 'I have certainly no inclination to enter the lists as the champion of any local interest or prejudice.'<sup>33</sup> Privately he continued to rail at national Governments but a preoccupation with personal business and local transport infrastructures (interconnected in his plans) gave pragmatism the lead over political sentiment.<sup>34</sup> In addition the expanding material gains of his tenants, complimented by ideals of self-help and independent development, were building a confidence which would eventually resign old-style estate management to a more passive role in their community. While recognising that no tenant paid his rent or feu-duty with gratitude, there is no doubt that the first glimpses of an independent income (and material possessions) softened their attitude to Balfour's benevolent paternalism which claimed, 'to give such encouragement to the Tenants that they have, without

---

<sup>33</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 23 February 1854, from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to G. Traill of Ratter MP, House of Commons.

<sup>34</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 230-231.



exception, consented to substitute new agreements for the old unprofitable leases.<sup>35</sup> Those who could not accept the early years of the 'squaring', the forced introduction of six-phase rotation, and the gradual rent increases imposed by their performance leases, had departed Shapinsay by the late 1860's. The Irvine, Johnston and Russell families emigrated to the U.S.A and New Zealand and left a lasting testimony of their disapproval of the Balfour/Calder axis in those transitional years.<sup>36</sup>

Turning to the second and third points mentioned on page 235, the dilution of Calvinist dogma and the more amenable doctrine of self-salvation, a great deal of credit has been given in Chapter 4 to the emergence of Congregationalism. Smout's assertion that Calvinism, through its insistence on the doctrine of pre-destination, had partially aided the improving lairds by inducing a passivity in its adherents, 'In this way rural Calvinism worked against Radicalism. How could there conceivably be any point in protest or revolt? If there were to be rewards they would come in God's time', appears relevant here.<sup>37</sup> The influence of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home* has been explained above, in Chapters 2 and 5, with its negative effect on the hegemony of Kirk minister and Heritor. This, together with the inbred resistance of the 'peerie' tenant to changes in his physical and social world, the diversionary tactics of David Balfour in exploiting Morisonian attacks on the anti-

<sup>35</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 4 December 1854 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to D. Smith, Edinburgh.

<sup>36</sup> O.A., D1/417, *The String Disaster of 1822* is a monograph by P.G. Russell about the boating accident described in Chapter 1. In essence this is an anti-landlord tract, blaming the Balfours for 'divide and rule'. Dr. W. Irvine is a descendant of the Irvine's of Quholm, Shapinsay who emigrated to New York. His monograph, *The Isle of Shapinsay*, is anecdotal in nature and conveys the unease of the small tenant (Quholm remained a poorly drained 30 acre shoreline farm with no prospect of outgrowing its larger neighbours) at Balfour's ambitious plans. The Johnston family, originally recruited by David Balfour in 1850, originated in Shetland. Their family letters are essentially about the hardships experienced during the 'squarings' in the period 1847-52 and are deposited in The Smithy Museum, Balfour Village, Shapinsay, administered by The Shapinsay Folk Studies Group.

<sup>37</sup> Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 309. Brown, *Religion & Society in Scotland since 1707*, traces the development of the United Presbyterian Church and reminds us that although Calvinism, in its more rigorous form, was fading in our period, it was not until 1879 that a formal break was made.

burgher community, and the steady decline in Sunday observance from the 1850s, suggests a progression from the tutelage of the Erastian Kirk to a secular society with little or no regard for spiritual or temporal guidance. The stern guardianship of the Secession Church (from 1847 the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland) can therefore be viewed as a cathartic episode in the inevitable transformation of this peasant class. This is not to deny that the growth of an emerging (lower) middle-class, especially true of the Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, was not facilitated by the burgh's East Kirk under the eagle eye of Marcus Calder's 'Presbyterian Pope', the Rev. Dr. Robert Paterson. The *embourgeoisment* of an emerging social group, who had initially struggled under the dominance of local kelp lairds, was strengthened by a 1,500 plus congregation which included large numbers of tradesmen's families who had not been accorded the status of respectability by the hierarchy of the neighbouring congregation of St. Magnus Cathedral (Church of Scotland).

Although the establishment of the United Presbyterian Church, as described above, was extremely successful in raising the profile of Dissent against the Moderate wing of the Kirk, they were unable and (ultimately) unwilling to bridge the gulf between anti-establishment rhetoric and positive radical action. The modest achievements of the S.S.P.C.K. (not universally popular in Orkney) in founding a number of Society Schools had, nevertheless, failed to generate any lasting support for the established Kirk.<sup>38</sup> The Disruption of 1843 had resulted in a number of scattered Free Church congregations throughout the County but, with the notable exception of Sourin (Rousay), the earlier establishment of the U.P. and the

---

<sup>38</sup> *The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, founded in 1709, had by the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century established a number of 'Society Schools' in Orkney. Local sensitivity to any scheme which seemed to link Orkney with 'problem solving' in other remote areas of Scotland raised the bias of many islanders against southern 'interference'.

Evangelical Union (Congregationalists) had largely split Moderates from anti-establishment dissidents.<sup>39</sup> Although improved farming schemes had seen some re-settlement of the old cottar (or 'onca') class, by 1880 tenancies accounted for 84 per cent of Orkney's farms and approximately 3,000 small-holdings remained in the islands.<sup>40</sup> Few of these tenants felt inclined to resolve their difficulties with Heritor or landlord by initiating further schisms in the existing religious institutions. Indeed, falling church attendance figures (28% of the adult population by 1875) suggest a rapid secularisation of Orkney's population.<sup>41</sup>

A number of Orcadian lairds had suffered sequestration of their estates for their financial support to the Jacobites in 1745-6 but in general Orkney had been spared costly, high profile, 'problem solving' measures such as the Caledonian Canal or the grid-planned villages of Ullapool or Campbeltown. As outlined in Chapter 2, proto-industrial development had been a short-term success for a number of lairds favourably situated (geographically) to profit from prevailing economic conditions in Western Europe. Whether the shortage of a suitable alkali substitute for glass or soap-making (kelp production), expanding markets for linen cloth (flax and primary weaving), medicinal products (cod liver oil) or Italian wheat straw (straw-plaiting), these early entrepreneurs were unable (in the case of kelp, unwilling) to invest in collectivised industrial production or indeed in any long-term planning. The

---

<sup>39</sup> The Disruption of 1843 did not result in the establishment of many Free Church congregations in Orkney, due mainly to the lack of opposition in the Kirk itself to Moderate opinion. Gibb, the minister-in-depute for the Rev. John Barry on Shapinsay, joined the Disruption clergy but was prevented by David Balfour from assuming his post. The Free Church congregation at Evie (Mainland) were in continual dispute with Balfour over feu duties and their church lease. On Rousay, however, the Rev. Archibald MacCallum was to play an influential role in the Sourin crofters resistance to the evictions of their laird, Major-General F.W. Traill-Burroughs.

<sup>40</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 393 & 401.

<sup>41</sup> *Peace's Orkney & Shetland Almanac*, 1874-6.

lack of rivers or fast-flowing streams was also a problem for these proto-industrialists, leaving their ventures deficient in a source of cheap water-power. The continuation of labour intensive industries prolonged the tension between improving lairds and (above all) kelp producers where the former were impatient to see tangible returns for their 'new money'. Profit margins are of course relative to volume and the demands of the marketplace, and the rental income of Orkney's merchant lairds was too small for anything approaching the classic 'take-off towards sustained economic growth'.<sup>42</sup> Devine is clear that the availability of an ever increasing pool of labour in the west of Scotland from 1830, coupled with the progression of steam power, gave that area a decisive advantage to its, 'Export-orientated textile industries not only by allowing unbroken production in all weathers but also through relocation of the mills from the countryside to the cities with all their abundant supplies of labour.'<sup>43</sup> He also makes the valid point that 'easy access to rich sources of coal' tied manufacturers more closely to this region of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> It goes without saying that a society as small, and as remote, as Orkney had none of these facilities.

In the same way that Orkney was not party to the physical upheavals that accompanied industrialisation, it was shielded from the mainstream social and political transformations which were occurring elsewhere on mainland Britain. Agitation similar to that of the 'Radical War' of 1820 in Renfrewshire, the popularity of the nineteenth-century Correspondence Societies or the importance of the Chartist Movement, were too early to influence the local newspapers of the day (the *John o' Groat Journal* appeared in 1836 with *The Orcadian* and the *Orkney Herald* two

---

<sup>42</sup> Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, p.197, Quotes W.W. Rostow's 'useful phrase'.

<sup>43</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999), p. 114.

<sup>44</sup> Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p.114.



decades behind). Little or no protest disturbed the authorities in Kirkwall or the emerging ferry-port of Stromness.

Taken together with the external influences described earlier the factors which contributed to the rise in tenant confidence are closely related to a liberalisation of a society no longer in the thrall of Calvinistic morality and the ideology of Predestination.<sup>45</sup> Balfour's acknowledgement that his tenants had, 'consented to substitute new agreements for the old unprofitable leases', and their reluctance to become embroiled in socio-religious dispute, had created a more tolerant society.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the leveling-out of the social pyramid illustrated in Chapter One (fig.3) demonstrates the growing division in Shapinsay's social structure between farmer and artisan/labourer.

### **Tenant attitudes, 1860-75**

If quiescence is (partial) proof of the success of David Balfour's plans, then tenant attitude from 1860 until the end of our period is extremely important. Given the formal nature of contemporary correspondence, both in the Balfour Papers and the new weekly newspapers, it is a temptation to accept the apparent complacent self-congratulation of the Heritor and assume the non-critical acceptance of the new *status quo* by laird and tenant. Whether this tenant attitude stemmed from stoical acceptance or fear of eviction is not evident from these sources. Typical of this 'quiescent' period is the following observation by Balfour to an acquaintance,

---

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 231-237.

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter 6, p. 240, footnote 35.

My pupils are older and have more to unlearn. For fourteen years I have been teaching my people to work and play too- and as there are somewhere about ten thousand of them, there is a good deal for the teacher to do and learn...I suspect I am only as wise as Socrates in his candid admission of total ignorance. But my pupils have added about 35,000 acres to the area originally 7,000 in production. So they have not laboured in vain.<sup>47</sup>

In an article entitled 'Shapinsay Cattle Show & Market', Balfour again using the pseudonym 'Agricola', had this to say the previous Autumn,

The island of Shapinsay continues to flourish more and more every year, and the consequent increase of comfort and riches to the tenantry shows to them that the vigorous improvement everywhere viable on the estate of Mr.Balfour, carefully carried out by the skilful and active management of Mr.Calder, has been carried on with a view to the advancement of their interests and the improvement of their social condition.<sup>48</sup>

Examining the tenants' motivations and attitudes for a reversal of their pre-improvement stance against the triumvirate of Heritor/Kirk/factor it is superficially apparent that the majority of Shapinsay's relocated farmers had renewed their performance leases (for longer periods) at increases of approximately 50% and were not, therefore, a potential source of political ferment. The correspondence of the émigré Orcadians was of course less complimentary and could point to their transition to 'independent freeholders' elsewhere in the world.<sup>49</sup>

Little can be unearthed from the descendants of the larger, 100-acre plus, farms on Shapinsay. However, a comparison of the wills and inventories of the period 1860-75 does give an indication of the rapid increase in consumer goods and

---

<sup>47</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of August 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Mr. Steel.

<sup>48</sup> *The Orcadian*, 11 August 1860, p.4.

<sup>49</sup> *The Orcadian*, 15 January 1859. A front-page advertisement carries an article on assisted emigration to New Zealand. If the emigrants paid for their own passage, and many did, they received a minimum of 40 acres freehold. 'It is literally true that hundreds of mechanics and labourers who landed in New Zealand a few years ago are now independent freeholders cultivating their own little estates.' Chapter 6, p. 240, footnote 36.

items not essential to the maintenance or running of a pastoral farm. Perhaps the 'grasping landlord' of received Orcadian wisdom, and regular feature of local history forums, was not squeezing his tenants quite to the level where they were unable, or unwilling, to demonstrate their new found prosperity.<sup>50</sup> In Chapters 2 and 3 the rise in rental income is detailed from a virtual stagnant base in the 1840s to one of 168% within a generation. In 1773 the Rev. George Lowe's observation,

If, instead of racking rents and large grassums, a spirit of improvement were once thoroughly lighted up amongst us, instead of a set of poor beggarly slaves drudging for little or nothing through the whole year, passing a life of continued poverty and obliging their landlord every term to dun them for rents and arrears, we should see a set of thriving farmers, who could pay their rents punctually, improve their grounds to advantage.

<sup>51</sup>

had given way to an optimism which had fueled the adventurous exploits of the Irvine, Johnson and Russell families described above on page 238. A more ironic commentary was provided by the grandson of the evicted elder, James Shearer, who had approached David Balfour on his (Shearer's) return from Queensland in 1875, 'in gratitude for their prosperity and good fortune in Australia.'<sup>52</sup> There is no record of Balfour's reply.

On a more general basis, the second decade of *The Orcadian* (1864-74) gives a fair account of public attitudes to landholding, the continuation of Erastian principles associated with this status and the gradual re-orientation of political

---

<sup>50</sup> O.A., D2/5. This inventory for Wieland farm (later renamed Strathore) of the Dennison family is from 1798 is for a grand total of £558/10/4, listing household crockery, pots and pans, farm implements, five herring boats, a yawl, two 'peat' boats and a skiff. The Fullerton inventory of 1863 (D34/D/4/2) contains no sailing craft but its grand total of £707/4/1 has a total of £22/1/1 for 'household' goods. This is a substantial sum at the time with items too numerous to list here.

<sup>51</sup> O.D. Cuthbert (ed.), *Lowe's History of Orkney*, (Kirkwall, 2001), p. 68.

<sup>52</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 411.

sympathies. Its page 3 article on 'The Budget and the Treaty' expands the debate on the continuation of income tax and the expanding portfolio of indirect taxation on consumer goods (tea, tobacco and alcohol are included) linking it with the nation's foreign policy, thus, 'Not by cheapening commodities, but by providing the means by which the commodities may be procured...a policy in perfect accordance with the character of this nation and with the way in which it has risen to its present unexampled prosperity and greatness.'<sup>53</sup>

This is in direct contrast with articles in the 1854 editions which doubted the wisdom of the repeal of the Corn Laws and those of 1874 which chose to support the government in its drive to purify water supplies, liberate the laws on private property and generally promote a more secular society.<sup>54</sup> Although the Second Reform Act enlarged the franchise of rate-paying householders or lodgers resident for twelve months, at a £10 annual rent, it was not immediately beneficial for rural communities such as Orkney. The County franchise, when applied to Shapinsay, was theoretically open to occupiers of property rated at or above £14 or for land worth £5 per annum. The absence of regulatory bodies, however, meant that in Scotland as a whole only approximately one third of adult males were registered to vote. When urban Scotland was discounted this figure fell to below one tenth.<sup>55</sup> If we then consider Shapinsay on its own, then these figures are even lower. The voters' role for the island (Appendix Q, attached) is printed in full to illustrate the number, property, value and rental qualifications of voters both before and after the Second Reform Act. Registration

---

<sup>53</sup> *The Orcadian*, 23 February 1860.

<sup>54</sup> *The Orcadian*, 20 November 1874.

<sup>55</sup> The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, 1985, Vol. XXA, The County of Orkney. The section on Shapinsay was written by the Rev. J.H. Boyd.



was carried out at Kirkwall Town Hall before the Sheriff-depute. Of Shapinsay's ninety-three leaseholders, thirty-four were eligible to vote by 1872, but by 1883 the number had not increased (it was actually thirty-three). Appendix L lists all the Shapinsay leaseholders, including a number who had the necessary rental and value qualifications, but were not yet on the Voters' roll. The 118 rent paying artisans and labourers, plus a dozen Trenabie Estate employees, did not qualify.<sup>56</sup> Although there were still fifty-nine unregistered lease-holders for Shapinsay it does not appear that local magistrates attempted to delay or block registration. Reluctance on the part of lease-holders to register in Kirkwall cannot be authenticated. The exclusivity of the male franchise also eliminated the three female lease-holders in the above fifty-nine and it is possible that a number of the remaining fifty-six had little or no interest in parliamentary elections or were unable to visit Kirkwall on election day. Thomson's reference to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society reveals interesting information from the minute books of these associations which would seem to support the theory that reform of the franchise, and radical political ideology in general, were not far advanced in Orkney.<sup>57</sup> Gladstone's Land Reform legislation, the lack of tariff barriers between the Prairie States of North America and Britain, or even local cultural and historical studies, are rarely mentioned by these 'young men' in their eagerness to attain a level of literary sophistication and respectability. 'Self Cultivation', 'Prescience', 'Is Novel Reading Harmful?', 'Is Reason Confined to

---

<sup>56</sup> *Peace's Orkney and Shetland Almanac*, editions 1871 & 1872, Voters Roll for the Parliamentary Constituency of Orkney and Shetland. Schedule A, the Population of Shapinsay 1831-1891.

<sup>57</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, pp. 414-5. B.I. Skea, *Island Images* (Kirkwall, 1982) pp. 26-8.

Man', are more frequent topics than 'Land Law Reform' or 'Free Trade versus Protection'.<sup>58</sup>

Were Orcadians, then, truly quiescent? Social commentaries which pre-dated Sir John Sinclair's O.S.A. are prolific in their criticism of the local populace for their 'lazy, indolent life' or their 'lacking in patriotism'.<sup>59</sup> George Barry's 'supine attitude to religion', and his contribution to the O.S.A., hints at a broad band of complacency in the local population which may be a common reaction caused by poverty or, more likely, a reaction to his own inadequacies as a spiritual and temporal leader of his community.<sup>60</sup> Without a reliable commentary which penetrates the mind-set of the under-represented majority, it is difficult to apportion responsibility or establish a causal link between the traditional reserve of the Orcadian, his distaste for outside 'enthusiasms' and centuries of non-violent reaction to the expropriation of hard won produce by absentee tacksmen. The fifth laird of Trenaby was certainly confident that he could exploit these behavioral traits by fusing them with his own entrepreneurship.

At every opportunity David Balfour laid claim to his Orcadian ancestry (always conveniently ignoring the sixteenth-century behavior of Sir Gilbert Balfour, explained in Chapter 1), decried avaricious incomers and promoted an island culture of virtue and uniqueness. In *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs* he had suggested that, 'The fostering liberality which has raised a Venice in the Baltic, might easily have made of Orkney a garden or a granary, and of any one of its score of harbours, the

---

<sup>58</sup> B.I. Skea, *Island Images: Memories of Sanday*, (Kirkwall, 1982), p. 26.

<sup>59</sup> Cuthbert (ed.), *Lowe's History of Orkney*, p.54.

<sup>60</sup> Barry, *History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 333. O.S.A. vol. XXV, Orkney.

Valetta or Sebastapol of the Atlantic and German oceans.’<sup>61</sup> To political adversaries, or newspaper editors, he widened the scope of his complaints by insisting that Orcadians were patriotic in their attitude to the nation’s responsibilities abroad but dismayed at the lack of sympathy reciprocated by Westminster. These sentiments were subtly co-opted into propaganda for a self-sufficient island society capable of profiting from an expanding national economy while anxious to retain older methods of social control and deny the, arguably, cultural and political benefits of wider association. Turgenev’s peasants who intoned ‘God bless the Czar and keep him far from us’ could have had no better spokesman than David Balfour.<sup>62</sup>

The subtle changes in a tenant’s attitude to his proprietor and the latter’s ambivalent stance *vis-à-vis* his responsibilities as Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and guardian (self-appointed) of his County’s cultural heritage, contributed to a period of calm and prosperity. Material considerations were now uppermost in the minds of most Orcadians and, especially on Shapinsay, issues of naval recruitment, British foreign policy or religious controversy were not of prime importance. The more prosperous farmers had their status as long lease-holders bolstered by their addition to the voters’ roll and examination of their inventories, in contrast to those of an earlier generation, revealed a respectable increase in personal possessions and consumer goods.

---

<sup>61</sup> Balfour, *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs: A Memorial for Orkney*, p. 21.

<sup>62</sup> S. Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons*, (trans. R. Edmonds, London, 1965), p.125.

## Material considerations and the lessening of religious influence

The material contribution to a tenant's social and political outlook is less a matter of stated opinion, more that of consumption and gradual acquisitiveness. Hand in hand with the new consumerism of the mid-nineteenth century went the rapid increase in the use of savings banks and insurance companies. From 1861 onwards all leaseholders of farms larger than 100 acres on Shapinsay were obliged to carry buildings and equipment cover to the full value of their inventory. In Balfour's words, 'I will ensure a clause in all my future larger leases enforcing the duty of insuring with the North British and this may do general good too.'<sup>63</sup> The opening of a second shop (at Astley Cottage on the new arterial road) in the middle of such a small community as that on Shapinsay, is ample proof of a wider distribution of wealth, a greater range of goods and the existence of an internal market for small, perishable, farm produce such as eggs, poultry and cheese.

In step with kirk-session minutes across Scotland, those relating to Orkney's four religious denominations are extremely disappointing in terms of political and social comment, especially in the case of Shapinsay.<sup>64</sup> The progression of capitalist agriculture and the new (still limited) consumerism had slowed, and then stifled, the tenants' appetite for theological discussion and proscriptive behavioral codes. The growing fashion for salvationist rhetoric made little or no difference with kirk session references to County or even parochial events remaining at a minimum. No

---

<sup>63</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46. Letter of 26 October 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Smith & Kinnear W.S., Edinburgh.

<sup>64</sup> N.A.S., CH3/1099, CH3/250-1, O.A., 3/6 and 27/1 (Synod of the U.P.Church) and W.D. McNaughton, *The Scottish Congregational Ministry, 1794-1993* (Glasgow, 1993). All three sources (there was no Catholic community at the time and the Free Church minutes are not extant), with the



longer concerned with famine relief or the immediate ills of their parish, the sessions' minute books resonate with the more general Scottish concerns of foreign missions, the possibility of converting Catholic Irish workers on Clydeside, or the 'dangers' of Roman Catholic emancipation. The defiant language of the Secession had, by the mid 1860's, assumed a more placatory tone.<sup>65</sup> The *rapprochement*, in 1868, between David Balfour and the U.P.Church at the installation of the Rev. Henry Fleming has already been mentioned in Chapter 4. Subjective sources abound for the experiences of Orkney's cottar and labouring classes in a rash of present day publications. Such 'reminiscences from the kailyard' do not, of course, include the excellent and unpretentious *Island Images* by Betsy I. Skea or Ernest W. Marwick's beautifully understated *An Orkney Anthology*, both invaluable secondary sources for Orkney in the third quarter of nineteenth-century.<sup>66</sup>

Although the material considerations, and the lessening of religious influence, discussed above were occurring within a period of stability and consolidation in Orkney, this was not the case elsewhere in Northern Scotland. The word quiescent could not be applied to communities that lacked the hegemony of Orcadian society and its advantages in agriculture and geographical compactness.

---

exception of the 1847 minutes of the anti-burgher Secession/U.P., have lacuna-like gaps in regard to the major events of their period.

<sup>65</sup> O.A., OCR/3/6 and OCR/27/1, Words like 'protest' and 'deny' are replaced in 27/1 by 'consider' and 'moderate'. In 1865 the old 'hard-line' U.P. minister for Shapinsay, James Brown, was replaced by Henry Fleming. The new minister's ordination was celebrated in the company of the Church of Scotland minister (William Craig) and the landowner and factor. The minute reports that an 'impressive sum of £3/14/8 ½ was expended on the guests'. It also urges tenants to 'consider' their relations with neighbours and to hold a 'moderate' view of the behaviour of non-U.P. members.

<sup>66</sup> E.W. Marwick, *An Orkney Anthology* (Kirkwall, 1975). Skea, *Island Images: Memories of Sanday*, p.26.

### **Tenant reaction as a contrast to those of neighbouring societies**

Orkney's experience of the wide-ranging changes in agriculture and tenure were not shared with her immediate neighbours to the south and south-west (with the exception of Caithness). In the wider context of Northern Scotland, the reaction of the small tenant or cottar/crofter to radical structural changes in their respective areas was as varied as the topographies of their surroundings. The material progress now enjoyed by an increasing number of Orcadian farmers was scarcely evident in these regions. It is with the background of crofters' discontent that Chapter Seven will outline a 'blueprint' which David Balfour proffered for these societies, set against the ambitions, its probability of success, and the actions of his correspondents. Whether couched in irony, when referring to Sir James Matheson in Lewis, or sympathy (to McKenzie of Gairloch), the letters which outlined Balfour's plans display an overbearing sense of modernity and an unabashed tone of superiority. No-one was left in doubt of his belief in 'his' people's social and economic progress nor of their acquiescence with his transforming actions on the Trenabie Estate. His displeasure with other proposals to mitigate their hardships were often couched in language of a less temperate nature. Indeed, the letter to James Kerr, inspector of schools, displays an anti-Gaelic bias at an extreme level.<sup>67</sup> 'Blueprints', however, are vulnerable to more than human frailty or prejudice. Nor can they take account of fluctuations in interest rates, world market prices for beef and cereals or external political decision-making. All of these problems and possibilities interacted in the final phase of Shapinsay's development and influenced Balfour's chances of putting his 'blueprint' into effective use.

---

<sup>67</sup> See Chapter 6, p. 223, footnote 7.

## Chapter Seven

### **Claims of ‘uniqueness’ in a proto-capitalist agro-economy & a ‘blueprint’ for island communities.**

The previous six chapters have outlined the progressive transformation of the island of Shapinsay, using that community as a microcosm of improved commercial farming in the County of Orkney. The ambivalence of Orcadian opinion towards inclusion in the modern industrial economy of Central Scotland which would be a natural consequence of efficient steamer and/or railway connections to that region, is suggested by the substitution of ‘uniqueness’ for ‘isolated’ in the language of those correspondents (like David Balfour) who wished to retain, and suggest, the stability of a paternalistic society while advancing their ‘improving’ ambitions.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that proprietors valued the adaptability, stoicism and general distaste for religious ‘enthusiasm’ which had been so prized, in earlier generations, by the Hudson’s Bay Company. That these same qualities had been employed by that self-same ‘grudging’ tenantry, burdened by the vagaries of the climate and the demand of rental and teind obligations, is unfortunately not articulated in extant

---

<sup>1</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 31 July 1862 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to L. Adamson, St. Andrew’s University. Long letter on Orkney’s Norse ancestry which emphasizes its connections with Northern Europe and the continuing ‘uniqueness’ of this society. The ‘isolation’, which Balfour frequently uses in his letters to Government ministers prior to the 1857 Orkney Road Act, does not re-appear after his letter of 24 January 1857 to D. Horne. *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*, published in 1860, uses ‘uniqueness’ throughout the text to underpin his family’s credentials as genuine Orcadian patriots.

correspondence.<sup>2</sup> Those with a talent for salesmanship (David Balfour was not deficient in this area), have always appreciated slogans as an opaque screen between intent and execution. Thus the employment of the term ‘uniqueness’ could be seen from the Orcadian side of the screen as a reaffirmation of traditional cultural values and a denial of other, just as traditional, societies. In effect a double denial. On the Highland and Hebridean side of this screen a message was to be broadcast of a better way forward from an alternative island culture, a ‘unique’ community freed from the shackles of religious ‘enthusiasm’ and feudal subservience, steadfastly supplementing its true culture with the lessons of improved agriculture. In other words distance, and traditional values, would not be an insurmountable barrier for any community wishing to benefit from contemporary technology in the burgeoning markets offered by the industrial towns of the South.

Many societies can lay claim to a ‘uniqueness’ in their culture and often adopt an antipathetical stance to neighbouring areas with differing cultural and societal standards. In the case of Orkney *vis-a-vis* Highland Scotland, their differences were mirrored by the distances that separated them both from each other and the prospering Scottish Central Belt. Cultural and trade links between Orkney and north-west Scotland were weak. The long established trade route between Orkney (and Shetland) and Scandinavia saw a regular exchange of potatoes and meal, and occasionally beef, for cut and dressed timber. This centuries’ old activity of Orkney’s ‘merchant lairds’ was now transformed by the development of commercial farming and the relative ease (after the introduction of a regular steamer

---

<sup>2</sup>Thomson’s ‘grudging’ reference to improving landlords, and their predecessors, in *The New History of Orkney*. More traditional saws i.e. ‘Ane tae saugh, ane tae chaw and ane tae pay the landlord wi an ‘a’, had by now been rendered obsolete.



service from Kirkwall to Aberdeen &/or Leith) of conveying fattened cattle to the markets of the South. In this sense David Balfour could boast of the benefits being reaped by an improved society and castigate his Highland contemporaries for their lack of vision and blinkered attitudes. His own anti-Gaelic prejudices have been illustrated, above, in an extract from a letter to the *John O'Groat Journal*.<sup>3</sup> In Balfour's view, however, a backward society could be transformed by a unified plan of action and significant inward investment. He was not convinced that an indigenous people were best served by forced migration or, in the case of many Highland communities, recruited for poorly established regional industries with inadequate infrastructures. A people escaped from backwardness, in his opinion, only if they remained in their traditional environment where their 'uniqueness' could be exploited by resident proprietors with the necessary local knowledge allied to an appreciation of contemporary markets. This attitude is encapsulated in a letter to his step-brother James,

I have been cruising about starting new roads and other improvements and keeping my countrymen in motion...I don't think I could live the life of the idle English landocracy-content to let their estates keep them and doing nothing in return. I want to see Orkney improving and I must attend to that as my first business.<sup>4</sup>

The *modus operandi* of these claims of 'uniqueness' and the drawbacks of adopting such an attitude are examined in the following pages, together with the handicaps encumbered in the introduction of improved farming techniques in areas of differing cultural and physical norms. Although he was at pains to distance

---

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 6, p. 223, footnote 7.

<sup>4</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 26 March 1860 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Balfour, Berstane House, Kirkwall.

himself from Gaelic culture in general, David Balfour was not blinded to the advantages of shared interest whether in fishing enterprises or in co-operative livestock transport. To this end he was a severe critic of those members of the aristocracy who were opposed to modern farming techniques and contrasted 'uniqueness' (in his Orcadian interpretation) with backwardness. Finally, when considering the long-term benefits to the people of Shapinsay accruing from Balfour's experiment, it is necessary to examine the reasons for his failure to complete the reclamation of the whole of the island and relate it to his inability to convince others of the infallibility of his 'blueprint'.

### **The background to claims of 'uniqueness'.**

The substance of the 'uniqueness' argument had surfaced several decades earlier in Balfour 'Younger' letters written during the latter's post-university tour of Europe to his ailing father at Hermiston House.<sup>5</sup> In later years his wide-ranging commitments, necessitating daily correspondence of two to three hours, was often interspersed with ironic comment or short *paens* such as, 'Orkney, which is only part of Britain by virtue of location'.<sup>6</sup> Shapinsay was usually singled out for (self-congratulatory) praise in 'our struggle for improvement' in such lofty statements as, 'I should be only too glad to think it possible, that our movement in Shapinsay might produce a

---

<sup>5</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/3/17, letter of 19 April 1843 from D. Balfour, Boulogne to Wm. Balfour, Hermiston House.

<sup>6</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 28 April 1858 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Fiddien, Chairman School Board, Edinburgh.

beneficial and sympathetic ripple on other shores than our own'.<sup>7</sup> Extending his horizons further to the south-west he had added, 'You may well say if this little island can do so much with its population and limited means and area, what might Ireland do with its boundless fertility and teeming population. I hope there is a bright future for both.'<sup>8</sup> Hall-Maxwell, Secretary of the Highland Agricultural Society and ever the butt of Balfour's arrogant attitude to the servants of public bodies, came under fire for comparing the latter's tenants with,

The small crofters of other counties with an acres grass or a patch of potatoes while you exclude so large a proportion of our most active & improving farmers with tenfold his stock and produce, aye and intelligence too, though you seem strangely to suspect them of inferior capacity to answer any of your questions.<sup>9</sup>

These suggestions of an effective deterrent to depopulation and economic stagnation were not original, but whereas Shirreff's 1814 proposals were advertised as a wholesale cure for estate managers in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, he had tailored them to specific areas and their economies.<sup>10</sup> Balfour's ambitions, however, covered a wider spectrum from transport infrastructures through economic development to political pragmatism and a leading role in the intellectual pursuits of his home County. Furthermore, not unlike his elder Whig contemporary James Loch (1780-1855), he believed that he had a vocation to articulate the development of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions, especially their capacity to accelerate market

---

<sup>7</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 30 August 1859 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to N. Pringle, Dublin.

<sup>8</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 30 August 1859.

<sup>9</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 7 October 1856 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Hall-Maxwell, Secretary of the Highland Agricultural Society, Edinburgh.

<sup>10</sup> Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland*, pp. 45-49 & 168-177.

developments in foodstuffs and raw materials.<sup>11</sup> Balfour's modification of Shirreff's groundplan, to relegate sheep and pig farming to the provision of local markets for domestic consumption, has been outlined in Chapter 3. In addition, his acceleration of change on his Trenabie Estate meant the 'extirpation' of one of Shirreff's 'engines' for improvement, the inexpensive and ubiquitous ox. The integrated nature of Balfour's second phase of improvement on Shapinsay was less concerned with problem solving and more to do with individual (farm) units operating within one larger exporting whole. In this way the five phase rotation system was inextricably bound to large, square, fields which had to be numerous enough not only to support this system but to fully employ a Clydesdale team, its hind and family and to grow the required amount of overwintering fodder.<sup>12</sup> Shirreff had not failed to underline the importance of transport infrastructures but Balfour was quick (within five years of the first 'squaring' of Shapinsay) to make this issue his prime objective in the years between the passing of the Turnpike Acts and the eventual Orkney Road Act of 1867. As a 'man in a hurry' he had to overhaul the market advantages of his rivals in the Mearns, Merse or Lothians. In this sense claims of 'uniqueness' were to be used

---

<sup>11</sup> James Loch (1780-1855) advanced his legal training at the University of Edinburgh (appointed advocate in 1801) into land management and economics. Elected to Parliament in 1830 as the Whig MP for the Northern Burghs, he bears the overall responsibility for the re-organisation of the Highland estates of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Sutherland. Although David Balfour respected Loch's grasp of contemporary economic theory, he considered the latter's advocacy of large-scale sheep farming as a half-measure not fully supported by complementary industries. The disruption of the communities of Strathnaver and Upper Halladale were inimical to Balfour's brand of paternalism. Nevertheless, faced with the mounting costs of their gentrification, many Scottish landowners followed Loch's remedies on their estates. The location of a beautifully, hand-illustrated, *Fauna and Flora of Scotland* (two volumes) commissioned by the Duchess of Sutherland and dedicated to David Balfour, in the library of Balfour Castle, is a clear indication that the latter's distaste for the Sutherland Clearances had not been realised at Dunrobin Castle.

<sup>12</sup> Hind is a term more readily associated with Scottish farming communities in the north-east, Lothians and the Merse of Berwickshire. The hind was a senior ploughman with total responsibility for horses and equipment. Frequently described as the 'aristocrat of farm labourers' he received higher wages, better housing and greater respect from his employer. The old Orkney term 'buman' does not accurately cover the hind's duties or status in nineteenth-century Scotland and the term fell out of use with the introduction of farm enclosure. The general Scottish term has therefore been used in this text.



as a stimulus to local producers and an advertisement for a farm economy boasting, '6,000 cattle have left Orkney since March'.<sup>13</sup>

### **The problems faced in promoting the 'uniqueness' of Balfour's plans.**

In promoting his 'blueprint' for other regions of Scotland and Ireland, David Balfour faced a number of obstacles that have never, even to this day, been fully overcome. Setting aside the areas of Scotland which had already committed their futures to Victorian concepts of the sporting estate or to the vast sheep walk, his target area can be narrowed down to Shetland, the Hebrides and the coastal strips and more level glens of Argyll, Inverness or Wester Ross. Here too there was a great variety in land-stewardship. In Lewis Sir James Matheson had already expended some of his vast, Cantonese derived, fortune on buying out the Mackenzies of Kintail in 1844. Matheson (1796-1878) was not, however, an improver in the agricultural sense and more ambitious plans were delayed until 1917 when Lewis (and Harris) were purchased by W.H. Lever (the future Lord Leverhulme).<sup>14</sup> The example of the Sutherland Estate, given above (footnote 10, page 256), was followed on a smaller scale by landowners on both sides of the Great Glen. The remaining magnates of this period, Argyll and Atholl, can also be disregarded as potential sympathizers due to the consolidation of their, formerly, dispersed properties. This leaves, theoretically,

---

<sup>13</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 22 July 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Major-General F. Traill-Burroughs, Rousay.

<sup>14</sup> William Hesketh Lever (1851-1925), created 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Leverhulme in 1920, purchased Lewis in 1917 from Duncan Matheson and added Harris in 1919. He abandoned his extensive plans for improved fishing and agriculture in 1923 with losses approximated at £1.5m. The village of Leverburgh on Harris was one of his proposed fishing stations.

innumerable smaller estates that could benefit from the Balfour example. If one excludes the twelve large landowners identified by Devine in this region (out of a total of eighty-six) there appears ample scope for improvement.<sup>15</sup>

There were, furthermore, geographical, climatic and pedological disadvantages to be considered.<sup>16</sup> As early as 1847 he had corresponded with the Commissioners of the Highland Destitution Fund, prompting its secretary Robert Omand to forward a draft set of proposals for the alleviation of poverty. This ambitious plan had as its central plank the removal of peat bogs and the resettling of poor crofters on the reclaimed land. In enclosing the Commissioner's draft plan, Omand commented, 'Your experience may not exactly correspond, but as I know that a large extent of surface has been improved on your property, I would take it kindly if you could send me an abstract of your 'Methods of Improvement'.'<sup>17</sup>

Mindful of these drawbacks, the label of 'uniqueness' was probably irksome to Balfour's correspondents. It was not, however, out of step with Orcadian self-conceit. Perceived ideas of ethnic superiority were not uncommon in our period, based partially on a reawakening of interest in Orkney's Norse heritage and on a growing awareness (stimulated by local enthusiasts such as George Petrie and David Balfour) of the depth, value and importance of Orkney's antiquarian treasures.<sup>18</sup> If

---

<sup>15</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988), pps. 88-91. The twelve 'big' landowners identified by Devine are the Duke of Sutherland, Sir James Matheson, George Rainy, Sir Kenneth MacKenzie (a correspondent of David Balfour), Sir James Riddell, the Duke of Argyll, Campbell of Islay, James Bankes, Gordon of Cluny, Lord MacDonald, Lord Dunmore and MacLeod of MacLeod. Matheson spent a total of £259,248 on harbour construction, roads, fencing and drainage in a ten-year period during and after the deprivation caused by the potato blight on Lewis.

<sup>16</sup> Pedology, the science of natural soils, was one of David Balfour's interests.

<sup>17</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/15/7, letter of 23 October 1847 from R. Omand, Stornaway to D. Balfour, Shapinsay. The printed report is dated August 1847, compiled by Capt. Elliott, Portree and originally forwarded to W.F. Skene (Commissioner of the Highlands Destitution Fund). It carries an assessment by Sir Edward Pine Coffin on the early 'improvements' mooted by Sir James Matheson on Lewis.

<sup>18</sup> David Petrie (1810-1868) of Birsay was variously employed as assistant-factor on the Traill estate on Mainland Orkney, Sheriff-Clerk for the County and surveyor. He was the quintessential 'amateur'

these attitudes are fused with a fervent residue of mistrust and disapproval of the perceived iniquities perpetrated by generations of 'soothies' (these southern opportunists can be Stuarts, Hanoverians or simply Lowland Scots, often vilified as 'ferry loupers') it is easier to appreciate the attraction of the 'uniqueness' claim to proprietor and tenant. This mistrust is reflected in correspondence between Balfour and Petrie where the former identifies 'treasure seekers' as, 'the Antiquarian Museum would be the only gainer and I should not like to have a pursuit with the Crown for the doubtful honour of being the Donor!!'<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Orkney's agricultural revolution had not precipitated wholesale immigration in new entrepreneur farmers or in expert agriculturists. The worst ravages of depopulation had also been avoided (unlike the above mentioned counties of Sutherland, Inverness, Wester Ross and Argyll, excluding the island of Lewis where there was no significant drop in population until 1911). The net-emigration figures for Orkney, compiled by Barclay, reveal a total of 4,190 from 1861 to 1871 and 2,460 from 1871 to 1881. Moreover, the population high of 1861, 32,225, did not dip substantially until the decade after the great agricultural depression of 1883-8.<sup>20</sup> On Shapinsay the highest rate of de-population, experienced between 1881 and 1891, was 9.15%. A combination of agricultural reform, executed rapidly enough to counteract the demise of the County's proto-industries, and local executive action had delayed a potential exodus and unquestioningly softened the blows of the forthcoming depression.

---

archaeologist of the mid-nineteenth century, responsible for the excavation and sketching of countless sites in Orkney including Maes Howe, Rennibister Earth-house and Mid-Howe, Rousay. His sketch books and drawings are deposited at the Orkney Archive in Kirkwall, researched by Elizabeth C.Kelsall, and will form the basis of a biographical work. O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letters of 3 and 13 September 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to G. Petrie, Birsay, discuss the Maes Howe runes and the correct interpretation of the site.

<sup>19</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 13 September 1861.

<sup>20</sup> Barclay, *Population of Orkney 1755-1961*, pp. 26-31.

David Balfour had taken steps, approved by Horne in Edinburgh, to protect Orkney's architectural heritage and was not slow to promote its 'unique' culture. 'The importance of securing the ruins of the Earl's and Bishop's Palaces for the County' was he said a protection against 'what is granted in pleasure'.<sup>21</sup> However, his apparent thirst for official recognition revealed (to Horne's successor as Solicitor-General, Patton) an anti-manufacturing bias which earned Balfour the following rebuke,

I agree with you that Agriculture merits honours as well as manufactures. But we must not forget that the two titles bestowed on Manufacturers were given, one to a man who had given £50,000, the other to one who had given £30,000 to the public. It may be thought that improvements in Agriculture have their own reward.<sup>22</sup>

It is, however, important to recognise that just as overt and covert attempts at social control, coupled with ambitions of self-agrandisement, were rehearsed against a background of growing (tenant) self-confidence, by the mid-1860's it was advantageous to both landlord and tenant to advertise their culture and its achievements as the happy result of centuries-old resourcefulness allied to skilful investment and pure hard work. In putting this argument into a more contextual frame it is necessary to compare investment strategies across northern Scotland and the main island groups. Matheson's expenditure in Lewis did involve ambitious, unfulfilled, reclamation projects but ultimately concentrated on the development of the old ancestral lands of the Mackenzies of Seaforth into a huge sporting estate and

---

<sup>21</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 26 April 1856 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Solicitor-General, Edinburgh.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, D2/15/13. Letter of 30 September 1866 from Patton, Solicitor-General to D. Balfour. This is a reply to Balfour's letter (D2/16/47) of 23 September 1866, which is a thinly disguised appeal for a knighthood.



the introduction of a luxurious life-style for the estate's new benefactor. The large-scale peat-extraction plans for the Lochs region of Lewis was not initiated and the reclamation of the moorland north and west of Stornoway was abandoned. The removal of the island's only indigenous source of fuel would have necessitated the laborious and expensive importation of coal by steamer from Greenock.<sup>23</sup> The linguistic, religious and cultural differences between an indigenous people and their (frequently) absent landowner were not problems which faced David Balfour in Orkney and the stubborn resistance which defeated Matheson's factors, and undermined Leverhulme's early twentieth-century plans, were not readily understood by Orcadians. They, and their proprietors, would certainly have disapproved of Matheson's 'generosity' in assisting so many emigrants in their journey to the New World and his less than generous treatment of the remaining poor tenants whose fortitude in the aftermath of the potato blight catastrophe was rewarded with notices of eviction.<sup>24</sup>

For those landowners without the investment potential of Sir James Matheson there were only two possible alternatives. These were Government intervention or loans from joint-stock banks. The former solution invariably involved the setting-up of a Commission, leading to a Parliamentary Bill, and was regarded as ineffective for large inland areas with no transport infrastructures. Since the collapse of the labour-intensive kelp industry, Government planning favoured the creation of fishing stations located at the mouths of west-coast sea lochs and serviced by steamer via the

---

<sup>23</sup> The Crinan Canal, opened in 1801, and the introduction of steamboats by the early 1840's had reduced the travelling time between Greenock (the main port connecting the Hebrides to Central Scotland) to little more than thirty-six hours. Nevertheless, the cost of supplying Lewis with coal for a whole Winter must have been prohibitive, even for the pocket of Sir James Matheson.

<sup>24</sup> J. Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 102.

Crinan Canal. The latter option, bank loans, was just as precarious for ambitious landowners. Highland estates lacked many of the commercial advantages of their Lowland contemporaries, especially in the provision of collateral property or profit. The 10,000 acre estate of the Stewarts of Murdostoun (Lanarkshire) is a case in point. Initially located on high, wet moorland with a plethora of small tenants, its fortunes were overturned by the discovery of large deposits of coal, the building of an Edinburgh to Glasgow railway line and the establishment of a number of large iron (later steel) works on the East bank of the River Clyde.<sup>25</sup> The reclamation of many of the old tenant farms was greatly assisted by these developments and the collateral they provided for future bank loans. None of this geographical good fortune was available to Highland or Island estates where the lack of prospect, in the eyes of possible investors, inhibited a situation already bereft of initial investment from profitable farming, forestry or fishing.

### **Handicaps to the introduction of improved farming in North & West Scotland**

Although the word transformation is freely used in describing Orkney's Agricultural Revolution, it is necessary to restate the knowledge (from Chapter 1) that there had always existed on Orkney a viable, fertile acreage with a temperate climate which was capable of feeding a large and stable population.<sup>26</sup> Land reclamation had been

---

<sup>25</sup> The Stewart's of Murdostoun, Lanarkshire originally held a 10,000 acre estate between the River North Calder and Kirk o' Shotts. Coalmines were sunk south of the village of Allanton and the Caledonian Railway was opened in 1869 via Shotts. The author was employed in 1975-6 as head gardener before the death of the last incumbent, Capt. John Stewart. There is no extant publication on this branch of the Stewart family who also developed ironworks at the village of Morningside, Lanarkshire.

<sup>26</sup> Alexander Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, uses 'transformation' to describe various degrees of change in Orkney's agricultural development. In Chapter 6, 'The End of Runrig',

advancing, however slowly, since the last vestiges of plague had disappeared in the seventeenth century and improved farming techniques had prevented many negative developments in the aftermath of the collapse of Orkney's proto-industries. None of this, of course, relates to the experience of the Outer Hebrides or the North West Highlands where land reclamation would have required an effort comparable with Kames's transformation of the Forth Valley in the late eighteenth-century.<sup>27</sup> The ambitious plans for Lewis, described in the previous paragraph, which involved large scale peat beds were scaled down after 1852 and altered to develop the more modest extension of existing, fertile, coastal land and shallow river valleys. Matheson's schemes could not have been completed in his own lifetime and would have involved investment on an even greater scale. In the absence of archive material for the Lewis estate of this period it is relevant to acknowledge that although the proprietor distributed meal and seed corn to the value of £30,000 between 1846 and 1851, his benevolence in assisting seasonal migration to 'the labour markets of the south free of charge' and his subsequent support of emigration to North America was deemed a more practical reaction to the famine conditions of these years.<sup>28</sup> In 1848, however, the ink was barely dry on his plans and David Balfour was flattered by Dr. Omand's solicitations on behalf of the Highlands Destitution Fund. In the following ten years letters, similar to the above, flowed back and forth between Balfour and landowners in the Highlands and Islands. MacKenzie of Gairloch, Lord Berridale, Sir George

---

he outlines 'a rather complete transformation of the farming landscape' (p. 49) and repeats the phrase throughout the book. Gilbert Schrank, *An Orkney Estate*, also uses the term profusely notably in Chapter One, 'The Orkney Islands and their Transformations' (pps. 1-11).

<sup>27</sup> Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), author of *The Gentleman Farmer* (Edinburgh, 1776), was an enthusiastic 'improver' who transformed his estate at Blair Drummond, Stirlingshire, by completely removing the peat layer covering the Carse of Stirling. In addition to the resettling of his old tenants, he introduced the families of army veterans to this 'virgin' land.

<sup>28</sup> Devine, *The Great Highland Famine*, p.89.

Dunbar of Castletown and Charles Buchanan of Inveraray were the most frequent correspondents on projects ranging from kelp production to cattle breeding. All of Balfour's letters, however, contain the 'liturgy' of improvement and were not modest in their claims. When sympathising with MacKenzie for the loss of 80% of his crops (in 1856), Balfour was quick to promote his own successes, 'On Shapinsay my crops have already been harvested in prime condition'. Concerning the plight of MacKenzie's crofters he advised, 'I have letters to hand about the suffering of small farmers in your part of Inverness.'<sup>29</sup> Several days later in writing to Sir Stuart Forbes of Culloden the efficacy of improvement was again stressed in the context of discussing the Association for Improving the Lives of the Labouring Class he had this to convey, 'Considering the social advancement of farmers and labourers as the most valuable aim of all agricultural improvement, I have great hopes that much good will hereafter be effected by the Association.'<sup>30</sup>

There are, however, three important considerations that are not discussed in these letters, namely the continuation of ownership, the domicile and the age of the relevant landowner. These three conditions are, of course, often interrelated and in the case of the Balfour family (and indeed many Orcadian families), are further intertwined by frequent marriage between local families. William Balfour, for

---

<sup>29</sup> O.A., D2/16/47, letter of 21 October 1856 from D. Balfour to MacKenzie of Gairloch. It appears that MacKenzie had written to all of his crofters in an attempt to stem emigration but did not have the funds available to alter their predicament. Sir Kenneth MacKenzie was a resident landowner and, like Balfour, well versed in up-to-date agricultural theory. Although financially secure his inheritance had been in land without financial resource. Balfour had incorrectly assumed that MacKenzie's estate was located in Inverness, whereas it was actually located in Ross-shire. Dr. John MacKenzie of Eilenach corresponded with Balfour on the necessity of satisfactory road connections between outlying areas and southern markets. In a letter of 26 December 1856, O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, Balfour agrees with MacKenzie that their opponents 'Obstructionists, fortunately a small minority', are delaying vital Road Bills through Parliament.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, letter of 25 October 1856 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Sir Stuart Forbes of Culloden. The patron of the Association for Improving the Lives of the Labouring Class was the Duke of Buccleuch. Balfour was critical of 'magnates who take all the credit while others effect real change.'



example, had married twice (to second cousins) and the numbers of Baikies, Traills and Feas who made similar arrangements were numerous. The issue of continuation of ownership is partially explored in Chapter 2 and came to the fore in Shapinsay whenever David Balfour discussed the island's long-term future and its disabilities under the former Bishopric and Laing stewardships. In his opinion continuation meant more than entail and primogeniture and encompassed the whole undertaking of estate management and (continual) improvement down to the domicile of its Heritor and the security of his tenants. Absentee proprietorship was an anathema to him, a sentiment hammered home in *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*. If we disregard the moral, social and intellectual advantages that he was claiming for residential proprietorship, his insistence on an empirical approach to land stewardship and the responsible supervision of key estate employees, is closely linked to domicile. The letters written to his half-brother Edward show his intentions and belief in 'hands-on' management. The following extract is typical of the advice he gave to (in his eyes) an inexperienced young man, 'The many peculiarities of local and social and legal circumstances require, present almost insuperable difficulties to anyone who is not used to them, and in short...must be a young active man requiredly brought up in the business of the County and resident therof.'<sup>31</sup> The third consideration, mentioned above, is that of age which is touched on by the above quotation. David Balfour had been born and raised in Orkney and had returned to Shapinsay at the comparatively youthful age of thirty-three. Without denying the advantages of wealth and an outstanding liberal education, he was able to devote the

---

<sup>31</sup> O.A., D2/16/45, letter of 27 December 1851 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to E. Balfour, Berstane House, Kirkwall.

remainder of his life to the realisation of ambitions for the Trenabie Estate. Conversely, a number of his contemporaries had come to proprietorship from a purely legal or business environment and were not in the first flush of youth. James Matheson bought the Lewis Estate at the age of forty-six, Frederick William Traill-Burroughs had 'come home' to Rousay at the age of forty-one and MacKenzie of Gairloch had succeeded his father in middle-age. Gairloch was to realise silvicultural ambitions through the purchase of Inverewe (his son Osgood developed the estate into the world renowned gardens) in 1862 but none of these gentlemen had the experience or the continuity of ownership of an agricultural estate. The example of Alexander Sutherland-Graeme at Holm on Mainland Orkney has already been contrasted in Chapter 2 (page 78) and is a prime case of management by *diktat* in the absence of a resident Heritor.

Returning to the question of financial investment it is difficult to see how the drainage grants, so liberally given to David Balfour in 1846/7, could have stimulated improvement and produced results similar or equal to those achieved in Orkney. Given that a borrowing rate of 6.5% would yield 'no Utopian returns', and would take at least twenty years to recoup, it is little wonder that few Highland landowners had made attempts at improving their large acreages. The doubling or trebling of existing rents for tenants who were permitted to remain on their small-holdings could, in the short-term, support their landlord in a more luxurious life-style but the money raised was insufficient to finance large-scale reclamation. In failing to secure a larger share of the Drainage Act grants, the Duke of Argyll was the only Highland landowner who matched Balfour's grant of £6,000, they were faced with piecemeal

initiatives with varying degrees of success.<sup>32</sup> Kelp-burning and fishing stations apart, proto-industrial development had been difficult to encourage west of the Great Glen.

The possession of ten of thousands of acres of high-level acid soils was in itself little incentive to stray outside the traditional occupations of cattle husbandry or inshore fishing. Sheep, introduced onto the Lochs area of Matheson's Lewis Estate, could not fatten to competitive weights on the lochan strewn, peat encrusted moors and the imported fodder required for heavier Leicester or Cheviot ewes was too expensive a consideration. The early lambing which was becoming such a success in the more temperate climate of Orkney was not possible in more exposed areas of the Hebrides or Wester Ross. In addition, as already explained in Chapter 2, the cultivation of large areas of turnip was essential for late Winter or early Spring fodder and that in turn required the neutralisation and draining of acid soils. Fishing, the standby for every subsistence led economy, had been promoted by the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates from the last decades of the previous century with costly developments undertaken at Ullapool, Campbeltown and Stornoway.<sup>33</sup> Lacking the advantages of a fertile hinterland similar to that enjoyed by Wick in Caithness, attempts at developing a growth industry for the regions attached to these towns had, in turn, a number of inherent problems that were both cultural and geographical in their complexity.

---

<sup>32</sup> O.A., D2/15/7, letter of 19 January 1847 from James Kinnear, Edinburgh to D. Balfour, Shapinsay. While Kinnear's phrase 'no Utopia' was intended as an early warning to David Balfour it is equally, perhaps more, apposite to Highland estates. In Kinnear's opinion, short-term measures are not an option for such property and borrowing at high rates of interest can only be justified as additional finance to accumulated capital. Hunter claims in *The Making of the Crofting Community*, p. 59, that the 1847 Drainage Act was the only money available from a government source and it is highly probable that a lack of public funds was partially responsible for the reluctance shown by landowners to pursue the solutions advocated by David Balfour.

<sup>33</sup> J.R. Coull, *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.109.

The North Atlantic networks described in Chapter 1 had facilitated Orcadian trade and cultural exchange for centuries but had permitted large-scale herring and cod fishing without the development of on-shore industrial processing plants. Dutch, German and Danish ‘bodems’ (literally bottoms or hulls) provided the collection and export of local catches. Coull underlined the short-sightedness of this practice as follows, ‘The fact that the stranger busses were to dominate the Orkney fishery for fully three decades could only inhibit the development of local shore-based curing, and this is an important factor in the archipelago falling somewhat behind as the Scottish fishery expanded.’<sup>34</sup>

While this practice had encouraged individual ‘merchant lairds’ to adopt a more self-reliant attitude to international trade with the prospect of importing foreign goods in the self-same ‘busses’, their example had not been followed on Scotland’s north-west coast. The linguistic connections between Orkney and their former Scandinavian rulers were no longer of any great significance but local perceptions of kinship and hegemony were no longer so well defined in contemporary Hebridean or Highland regions. The virtual collapse of the latter’s clan system had of course no significance for Orkney but it did, naturally, impact on their ability to transform their economies. Self-confidence, and the independence required to initiate the changes which innovators like Balfour were recommending, were in short supply in areas where Government usually meant interference rather than support. The ‘uniqueness’ claimed for Orkney by Balfour could just as validly be claimed for these regions but

---

<sup>34</sup> Coull, *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland*, p. 116. The failure to invest in steam drifters and the profitability of shell-fish catches are also cited, p. 154, as disincentives to the development of industrial fishing in Orkney., ‘numbers thereafter did tail off as the general size of boat increased.’



direct participation in a booming British economy with all its infrastructural advantages had yet to reach the North and North-West.

The inclusiveness envisaged by Balfour, however, did not accept 'interference' by outside agencies whether by Government nominated committees or direct executive action. As a veteran of numerous committees, he and his Orcadian contemporaries had no intention of allowing any decision on their County's future to escape their control.<sup>35</sup> Although he would have expected no less vigilance on the part of his Highland correspondents his actions were nevertheless circumscribed by the machinations of the Earldom. Magnates of the stature of Argyll (a cabinet minister), and lesser aristocrats like the Earl of Zetland, were by now much more familiar with the metropolitan political world of Westminster. Balfour's frustration at the delays in legislation are evident in so many of his letters to acquaintances in Kirkwall and Edinburgh. Writing to the County Clerk in Kirkwall, Alisdair Bain, he had this to say,

I am very glad that Dundas will join Laing in hatching our egg and rearing the chicken for even though he were to oppose each clause (of the Road Bill) afterwards, he would only stultify himself and all that we want of him is the use of his name as MP for the County.<sup>36</sup>

Writing to Easton, the Lord Treasurer, he castigates the performance of the Whitehall ministries as, 'non-effectiveness as great a failing as the Effectiveness of your

---

<sup>35</sup> David Balfour served at various times as Chairman of the Commissioners of Supply for Orkney; Chairman of the Kirkwall Harbour Board, the Public School Board for Orkney and The Orkney Agricultural Society. He also sat as a member of Board of Supervision and was Deputy Lord Lieutenant.

<sup>36</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 4 February 1857 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to A. Bain, County Clerk, Kirkwall.

Mythic Captains<sup>37</sup> The tongue-in-cheek comment made to an acquaintance in Caithness, James Bremner, that ‘mails to another adjacent island of Great Britain’ were often held up by obstacles both natural and human, is perhaps a true guide to the ambivalent attitudes of a proprietor who was (still) uncertain of the success of his strategies.<sup>38</sup>

### **Ideas of shared interest as an alternative to separate development**

David Balfour’s idealism faced major difficulties when it came to the paramount issue of a shared interest in the development of outlying regions of Great Britain. Although his intellectual predilections were often at odds with those of other Orcadians, he did not allow his ideals of self-reliance and local autonomy to be clouded by post-Romanticism or to indulge in the comfortable absentee life which his wealth could easily accommodate. Given the necessity of a united front by his contemporaries in the Highlands and Islands, his ‘blueprint’ stood or fell on like-minded ambition and co-operation. The piece-meal exploitation of large areas of North-West Scotland were not to his liking nor did it reflect his ideals of tenant advancement. He regarded his tenants as farmers or artisans, never as dependants, and certainly not as crofters. There is no doubt that a number of his smaller tenants, especially those in the former ‘pockets’ of Sandstoun and East Hollandstoun, had still to benefit from the enlargements of 1847-56 on Shapinsay. However, the rental

---

<sup>37</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 13 September 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to the Lord Treasurer, Whitehall.

<sup>38</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 4 December 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Bremner, Scrabster.

books of this period demonstrate that the average term of a lease on a ten-acre holding was nine years and that after the last phase of improvement (1856-68) their acreages had increased by 50%.<sup>39</sup> The farms of Fuag and Greenataing in East Hollandstoun and Mounthooley and Sandsgarth in Sandstoun had all increased their acreages by 60%.<sup>40</sup>

Although the alternative strategies of Highland landowners did eventually bring employment and a modicum of stability to their areas, their solutions were often transitory and invariably seasonal. The nineteenth century phenomenon of the sporting estate involved initial capital investment beyond the means of all but the very rich and Orr has estimated that £2.2m was expended in the forty years after 1843 on a mere fifty-two estates. Where this investment eventually produced revenue, he has calculated that proprietors were able to support a limited stream of employment in and around their estates but that the seasonality of shooting and fishing did not contribute to a growth of general prosperity nor to a reinvestment of these profits in other, local, industries. The 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll invested only 17.3% of his estate revenues on improvements to his farms and policies.<sup>41</sup> The proposals of Lord Lovat to utilise local labour in Ardgour and Lochaber for the development of large-scale forestry were not taken seriously by Government agencies who preferred the continuation of cheap colonial imports of timber and saw no need to disturb existing trade agreements.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Appendix L, Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay.

<sup>40</sup> Appendix A, The Population of Shapinsay.

<sup>41</sup> W. Orr, *Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters: The Western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian Times* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 90-115.

<sup>42</sup> Orr, p. 84.

However, the era of 'high agriculture' was one of optimism and growth in farming communities and the subsequent increase in cheap (frozen) meat imports to Britain could not have been foreseen in mid-century.<sup>43</sup> Market competition, the improvement in transport between Orkney and its industrial (city) clients and the profit margins already accruing to proprietor and (to a lesser extent) tenants, added to the confidence which was reflected in shipping manifests of the period. Orkney alone was exporting 30,000 head of cattle by the late 1870s and, thanks to its concentration on prime quality beef, its economy did not suffer unduly from the agricultural depression of 1882-5.<sup>44</sup> Earlier shipping manifests, described in Chapter 1, had been dominated by necessities such as timber, solid fuel and fertilisers and had been sparse in luxury items. From the mid-1860's these figures began to assume a more balanced nature with the average annual export tonnage (30,000 tons) almost matching imports (28,000 tons) in the use of approximately 600 vessels. There are no exact figures for imported items of clothing, furniture or porcelain but the front-page advertisements in *The Orcadian* show a progressive increase of supply and demand.<sup>45</sup> Could, then, these green shoots of prosperity be transplanted elsewhere in Northern Scotland? Local, Orcadian, opinion was certain that it should be possible but was less certain that it was feasible without a radical change in the nature of tenancy and proprietorial attitude. Although markets for beef and mutton were buoyant, they were also subject to quality evaluations and increasingly to demands for prime, heavy carcasses:

---

<sup>43</sup> Refrigeration, adapted for ocean-going vessels, was introduced in 1881.

<sup>44</sup> *Peace's Orkney and Shetland Almanac*, ed. 1879-81 and 1881-3.

<sup>45</sup> *The Orcadian*, 7 June 1856 and 30 August 1861, tonnage's at Kirkwall Harbour. The same editions display an increasing wide range of consumer goods, advertised on page 1.



The larger cattle (Short Horn or Polled Angus) have generally been sold at two years old and comparatively few have been fattened ready for the butchers. I can fatten (on a yearly average) on my own farms about a score of large Cattle averaging 150lbs per qtr., and I have no doubt that if a Trade were once opened about 100 of similar quality might easily be fattened among my tenants in this form some of whom are rearing Short Horns as good as any in Scotland.<sup>46</sup>

Here the crofting community was often at a disadvantage. In addition to outmoded forms of transport they had to contend with a shortage of good quality grass, a lack of winter fodder and competition (usually a losing one) with sporting estates for grazing space.<sup>47</sup> Had the agricultural 'clubs', eventually cobbled together in the 1870's to utilise crofter co-operation and pool any available capital, been given more wholehearted support by Highland proprietors then it is possible that the belated arrival of the West Highland Railway (1888) would have provided a greater incentive to expand the steamer services of Hutcheson & Co (MacBrayne & Co. from 1879). Private wealth was available but was invariably controlled by entrepreneurs who had little patience or appetite for any venture with low profit potential (they did not include their own sporting estates in this evaluation). Unlike Orcadian lairds they had no interest in the *embourgeoisement* or advancement of their subordinates. Nevertheless, David Balfour continued to believe in the superiority and adaptability of his 'blueprint'. His distaste for the Whig administrations of the pre-Liberal era had not prevented him from adopting a pragmatic stance towards any legislation or commission which could bring benefit to the County of Orkney. Highland proprietors could, he believed, benefit from the same perspicacity. In this period, just as Disraeli had superceded Derby and 'climbed

---

<sup>46</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 6 March 1854 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Thyne & Son, Stockbridge, Edinburgh.

<sup>47</sup> *Orr*, pp. 73-5.

to the top of the greasy pole', he recognised that the new political climate of the late 1860s was more conducive to a consensual approach to the ever present problems of travel and trade infrastructures.<sup>48</sup> Having publicly opposed the theories of James Loch before the latter lost his Parliamentary seat of Wick in 1852, he transferred his venom to more general attacks on Government policy. A letter to James Duncan, an acquaintance in Edinburgh, typically finds fault with the conduct of public finances, 'I must confess myself almost as bad a Chancellor of the Exchequer as Sir Charles Wood, without his glib excuses for blundering.'<sup>49</sup> James Robertson, Sheriff for the County, was regaled with waspish complaints such as,

I regard with great sympathy this movement of indignation against the Whig policy of sacrificing the Counties to bribe in complicity of the Burghs...I believe that the prosperity of Kirkwall depends on that of the County of which it is the Market place.<sup>50</sup>

### **The future prospects of elements opposed to 'improvement'**

The old duality of Superior and MP had served a limited clientele which was never more apparent than in and around the Sandwick and Stromness area of Orkney and which was a victim of the above mentioned political shift. Although the surrounding properties, belonging to the Traill and Pollexfen families who were allies of the Trenabie Estate, had laboured against the constricts of tailzie and had sympathised with the consolidating policies of David Balfour, their neighbours to the north and

---

<sup>48</sup> R. Blake, *Disraeli* (London, 1966), p. 198.

<sup>49</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/47, letter of 12 March 1860 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to J. Duncan, Edinburgh.

<sup>50</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/48, letter of 21 December 1860 from D. Balfour to Sheriff Robertson.

west were largely engaged in the enfeebled defense of their udal holdings and co-operative subsistence farming. Their mistrust of Balfour and his 'improved' agriculture was not wholly misplaced in the context of the 'squaring' and its reordering of centuries-old relationships. However, the gradual decline in their numbers and (in many cases) the diminution of their status to that of grieve or senior farm labourer was a direct consequence of their lack of effective allies and the necessary finance to introduce more intensive farming methods. *Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs*, did not translate to actual support, financial or structural, from their improving neighbours. These remaining pockets of udal tenure did not fall into the hands of their consolidating neighbours, however, but were often acquired by an emerging class of owner-occupiers who had been quick to follow Balfour's example and profit from the new steamer connections to Aberdeen and Leith for their fatstock exports.<sup>51</sup>

When considering individual communities it is also relevant to mention, again, their social and religious preferences. In Chapters 2 and 5 the importance of dissent (to the established Kirk), the shallowness of its presumptions and its defenselessness against schismatic attacks, were an integral part of Trenaby's measures of social control. In Orkney's Mainland parishes the Free Church had enjoyed a measure of success in these populous areas where udal tenants were still in the majority. The Free Church congregation of Evie (West Mainland) had endured a generation of strife with the Trenaby Estate over leases and feu duty but none had

---

<sup>51</sup> Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, pps.384-388. Archer Fortesque had moved in 1845 from Devon to Orkney, where he bought the estate of Swanbister, Orphir. Like David Balfour he benefited from drainage loans (£1,000) and was an advocate of reclamation, rotation and 'green crops'. He exported livestock to mainland Scotland and transported live sheep in his own sloop.

resisted landlord dominance as much as that of Sourin in Rousay.<sup>52</sup> While repeating that Rousay was not part of the Trenabie Estate, it is notable that all those tenants who occupied marginal land and who eventually testified (or were classified as crofters by the Crofters' Commission in 1886) did not progress to owner-occupancy within the next generation. This is substantially true of the Free Church/udallers throughout Orkney.

Although religious dissent had not brought the Free Church to Shapinsay and had almost totally subsided by 1870 (excluding of course Rousay), the continued existence of a large proportion of small tenants (9.67%) in one small area who had all been actively involved in the United Presbyterian Church, is significant. On Shapinsay those fifteen remaining tenancies on the edge of the last undeveloped land of the old Commonty did not qualify its occupants for a place on the voters roll, in spite of their new leases outlined above (page 272, above).<sup>53</sup> It had been David Balfour's declared intention to elevate all his farming tenants to the status of £10 plus leaseholders thus ensuring their (and his) prosperity and stability. James Irvine apart, who shared the last surviving twa-beeld tenancy with his brother John at Sandgarth, these tenants paid an average annual rent of £7. The remaining 700 acres of the old Commonty was located either to the east, north or south of their farms. If the indented rocky south-eastern coastline of approximately 100 acres is discounted, there remained a potential thirty acres of adjacent land for these holdings, plus their

---

<sup>52</sup> Thomson, *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters*, p. 127. The Rev. Archibald MacCallum, Free Church minister to the Sourin community of Rousay, was a Glaswegian who had come to the island in 1880. Thomson describes him as 'the Lenin of the crofters' revolution, a master of power politics at parish level.' James Leonard, the Free Church precentor at Sourin, was no less indefatigable in his defense of tenants' rights, in the decades which preceded MacCallum's appointment.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix Q, Voters Roll for Shapinsay 1833-1878.



five slightly larger neighbours (Fuag, Hacosness, Mounthooly, Cot-on-Hill and Warthill). These fragments of two old communities, therefore, posed two unresolved problems for the Trenabie Estate.

Firstly these families had been some of the earliest in Shapinsay to abandon the Church of Scotland in the wake of Haldane's spectacular meetings in 1792. The larger tenants (Dennison of Ness has been highlighted in Chapter 2) had remained with the Kirk and had either retained their existing farms or moved to larger, better appointed ones. The marginal tenancies, mentioned above, were certainly included in Balfour's earliest plans but not for development until a later, second, phase. Their occupants were not offered tenancies on the new, squared, farms elsewhere on the island. Secondly, these families were beginning to lose common cause with their former neighbours in the respect of method, ambition and productivity. Few had emigrated in the troubled years of 1848-60 and now faced a difficult future of subsistence amidst commercial enterprises. By the end of our period all of these holdings were still occupied by members of the same families but in most cases no younger generation was present. With the exception of William Drummond at Little Sandgarth, Thomas Rendall at Mounthooly and William Michael at Purtaquoy, all of these farms were now occupied by widows or elderly tenants.<sup>54</sup>

The suspicion remains, therefore, that although these remaining undeveloped enclaves were important for the provision of an added and balanced element to Shapinsay's food supply (inshore fishing), they were still regarded by their proprietor as a potential source of disruption in the only remaining 'backward' area of an

---

<sup>54</sup> Appendix M, The Remaining Small Holdings on Shapinsay (1871-81).

otherwise transformed island. David Balfour had shown his impatience with the Northern Presbytery of the Church of Scotland over their refusal to improve the fifty-three acre Glebe of Kirbuster (a problem that was not resolved until 1876) and had reacted intemperately to the demands of the Free Church elsewhere in Orkney, outlined in Chapter 6 (pages 228 and 229, above).<sup>55</sup> Appendices A and F (Graph C-Religious Affiliation for Shapinsay) show that the small tenants of Sandstoun and East Hollandstoun had remained faithful to the U.P. Church. As regards these Shapinsay tenants, David Balfour's sentiments are unclear and the Balfour Papers are silent on any reaction to the continuation of the U.P. on the island.

#### **Stalled development on Shapinsay or merely an acceptance of past success.**

Why were the last remaining 700 acres of land on Shapinsay's eastern moorland, mentioned above, not squared and enclosed? There are at least half a dozen plausible explanations, given hereunder in their order of probability. The Grainger and Miller map of 1847, illustrated in Chapter 2, has been accepted by many local antiquarians as the definitive estate plan, drawn up on David Balfour's instructions, for Shapinsay. On this map the whole of the island's 7,300 acres is neatly apportioned into ten-acre square fields, including the old south-eastern moor. However, the following extract is from a letter sent in the Spring of 1853 to David Horne in Edinburgh, 'No more baldness if not nakedness of Shapinsay in the article of hares

---

<sup>55</sup> O.A., OCR/7. Minutes of the Northern Presbytery of the Church of Scotland, 16 April 1877. The twenty-five year legal dispute between the Trenabie Estate and the Northern Presbytery of the Church of Scotland was finally settled in 1876 when the former accepted a feu of £1 per acre. The neighbouring farms of Hilton (formerly Styne), Brecks and Hannatofte were immediately expanded.

(or heirs). Nine of them arrived in safety and were turned out with plenty of provender and I have no doubt we shall soon have plenty of leverets to justify occasional leporicide.’<sup>56</sup> Pheasants were also introduced in the same area, a year later, and although this bird’s traditional cover of woods and hedgerows was not available on Shapinsay, it did adapt to heather and fern cover. Wildfowl were of course plentiful throughout the island. Whether shooting parties were successful, or not, the commercial value of the remaining 700 acres of moorland would not have justified the abandonment of such a large area to such small scale, seasonal sport. It is therefore highly unlikely that this was a principal reason for retaining the moor as there is no evidence in estate papers of attempts to promote commercial ‘leporicide’ on Shapinsay.

The second, more plausible, explanation is that the above mentioned small tenancies on the fringe of the moor, with its undisturbed fishing activities, provided a localised supply of fresh fish (in addition to eggs and poultry) which did not disturb Balfour’s greater plans for the island and which helped to stimulate his need for an internal island market. The land occupied by these small tenants was also not required for the expansion of larger units elsewhere on Shapinsay. The total annual rent of approximately £150 was not a loss to the estate as virtually no investment had been made in that area (except for the initial purchase price of £1,250 which covered a much larger area). An uncultivated heathland also allowed David Balfour to indulge his increasing passion for archeology at the impressive Berstane tumulus known locally as Castle Bloody, and its situation relative to the huge standing Mor

---

<sup>56</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46, letter of 30 March 1853 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to D. Horne, Edinburgh. The common hare, *lepus timidus*, is the animal mentioned here and *leporicide* is the latin term for a ‘killer of hares’.

Stane. He was similarly engaged, with the assistance of George Petrie, in the excavation of prehistoric sites at Trenabie, Westray and his enthusiasm is shown in this extract from a letter to an English amateur archeologist,

The walls of a Subterranean chamber fifteen feet square are covered with Runic letters to the number of 800 or more. I know the Norse language pretty well but not with the contradictions, divisions of these Runes, though they are in a beautiful condition for the most part.<sup>57</sup>

Three more plausible reasons for inactivity on the old moorland are more closely linked to financial strictures and the changing fiscal policies of British Governments. The base lending rate at the time of David Balfour's succession to the Trenabie title was 3.5%. Twenty years later it was closer to 6.5% with greater collateral conditions balancing out the disentailment of his 26,000 acres. Income tax, introduced in 1798 and continuous since 1803, had been 7d in the pound in 1847 but had increased to one shilling and two pence during the Crimean War where it remained for the remainder of his stewardship of the Trenabie Estate.<sup>58</sup> The incentive, therefore, to invest in marginal land was rapidly decreasing and, in addition, Government grants for drainage and road-building were either non-existent (in the case of drainage grants) or subject to more rigorous assessment than formerly.

The looming agricultural depression is more difficult to detect in the correspondence of individual landowners. The rapid recovery of the U.S.A. in the aftermath of the American Civil War (1861-5) was beginning to have negative effects on European trade by the mid-1870's and had not gone unnoticed in

---

<sup>57</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 19 August 1861 from D. Balfour, Trenabie, Westray to Mr. Tupper, Guildford, Surrey.

<sup>58</sup> D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 1992), pps 103-112.



Government circles. However, estate owners such as David Balfour were confident that their markets were secure and that limited investment in new labour-saving farm machinery would be sufficient to maintain a buoyant market. In 1859 Balfour had responded to advertisements in *The Orcadian* which offered two-horse threshing machines 'complete with gin' for £28 (the three-horse equivalent cost £40). Ten years later the steam-driven machines were not much more expensive (£49).<sup>59</sup> Only with the benefit of hindsight is it possible to condemn an attitude of 'hold what you have' (or was it vice-versa?).

These considerations in turn introduce the third financial consideration, namely the actual cost of reclaiming the island's most unremitting terrain. Studded with small, acid, lochans and liberally strewn with huge hamars (enormous slabs of sandstone half-buried to a depth of many feet below the peat-encrusted moor), the normal procedure of de-stoning and ploughing would have had to be supplemented by heavy horse teams and possibly also by explosives (dynamite had been invented in 1866 but was expensive). If the costs of reclamation, highlighted in Chapter 2, are subject to an inflationary index of 50% by the early 1870's, to include materials and labour, then the huge additional costs of deeper drains, early steam traction machines and many draught animals can be seen as a prohibitive price to pay for an estimated annual rental increase of £300. Such a costly undertaking for a relatively small gain in agricultural land introduces a sixth, and probably most convincing, reason for not proceeding further, that of personal motivation.

---

<sup>59</sup> *The Orcadian*, 20 January 1859 and 13 February 1868.

In October 1866 David Balfour was fifty-five years old and although his excursions to Dr. Gully's sanatorium in Malvern, Worcestershire had not been infrequent he was enjoying a pacific period in his life.<sup>60</sup> Within twenty years he had transformed the Trenaby Estate from a scattered collection of runrig settlements and small enclosures to a modern agricultural undertaking, successfully overseen the relevant Turnpike and Roads Acts for Orkney, chaired a number of public works committees in Kirkwall and done distinguished service for his County. On a more private, personal, level he had suffered two major (possibly inter-related) setbacks. The Balfour Papers reveal regular correspondence with Dr. Gully in Malvern, Worcestershire and a number of lengthy visits to the sanatorium there and elsewhere (Switzerland).<sup>61</sup> Although there is no evidence that she was barren (or that he was impotent), his marriage to Eleanor Edmeston remained childless. Throughout his married life he eschewed liaisons with other women and had, by 1866, already accepted the future succession to the Trenaby title for his half-brother, Edward. Another clue can be found in a letter to a fellow patient at Malvern, written in December 1861 (David Balfour's was fifty on the 14<sup>th</sup> of that month), 'When a man turns to the shady side of fifty...it is time to simplify all his arrangements as much as possible, and it is absolutely essential that I disburden my Stronsay lands as soon as possible.'<sup>62</sup> Whether the lack of an heir or merely satiation, was the reason for the abandonment of the last remnant of the old East Hill Common of Shapinsay, there is

---

<sup>60</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46. Letter of 14 May 1855 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Dr. Gully, Malvern. 'Sweating treatment', a 'lamp' and 'vapours' are all referred for Dr. Gully's approval. D.B. is intending to make 'another visit to take the waters.'

<sup>61</sup> O.A., Balfour Papers, D2/16/46. David Balfour's correspondence with Dr. Gully of Malvern began in 1853 when, at the age of 42, he began 'sweating treatment', 'lamps' and 'vapours'. The letter of 23 February 1855 mentions all three treatments without any reference to Gully's diagnosis. There is no reference to syphilis or to his childless state.

<sup>62</sup> O.A., D2/16/46, letter of 6 December 1861 from D. Balfour, Shapinsay to Mrs Bremner, Malvern.

no doubt that this period was noteworthy for a remarkable upsurge in the laird's intellectual output and a lessening in his everyday contact with his tenants and his factor, Marcus Calder. Indeed, Calder was now a principal tenant at Elwickbank farm with the estate employing a series of 'overseers' to free him from the less attractive features of estate management i.e. travelling by boat between Orkney's Northern Isles and the long delays which this often entailed. He too had 'moved up' to committee work, harbour board membership and a commission in the Voluntary Rifle Brigade.

### **The long-term benefits of Balfour's Shapinsay experiment**

There is no doubt that David Balfour, and many of his tenants, believed in the 'uniqueness' of their island and in their achievements in the relatively short space of one generation in time. The example they had set to fellow Orcadians had been accepted and would be fruitful to future generations of owner-occupiers up to the present time. In the wider world of North and West Scotland their optimism was not misplaced, rather exaggerated. The advantages of large-scale investment on a relatively small land area were not shared by their Highland and Hebridean contemporaries. Nor were the political and legal advantages of a few resident Heritors granted to communities which were struggling to acclimatise to the rigors of a nineteenth century commercial economy. The success of 'improvement' is without doubt in the Orcadian context but its transplantation to other, less fortunate, areas was not to be realised.

It is also clear from this chapter that not all Balfour's early plans for Shapinsay were brought to a conclusion. By the end of our period, 1875, an area of approximately 600 acres were uncultivated and in a state similar to that of 1830. The map of the island produced in Chapter 6 was reproduced in 1900, virtually without a change, and to this day its features present themselves to the observer in an almost identical form. To a proprietor who prided himself on the efficiency and completeness of his operations, the unreformed South-eastern moor of Shapinsay must have been a great disappointment, a reminder of the chaotic administrations of the early quarter of the century. In the absence of an explanation, in the many thousands of letters extant in the Balfour Papers, this can only be a matter of conjecture. David Balfour had bemoaned, 'a man turns to the shady side of fifty', approaching old age.<sup>63</sup> Although he lived until 1887, to be succeeded by his sixty-four year old step-brother James William Balfour, he had not produced an heir. Again no correspondence survives on this matter but it cannot have been anything less than a huge disappointment to a man so steeped in his family's lineage and history. At the end of our period, in spite of abundant commercial success, this break in a three-hundred year old family line must be considered as one reason for the non-completion of his plans.

Finally, the failure of Highland proprietors to acknowledge, or adopt, Balfour's 'blueprint' for their estates is both indicative, in a wider field, of their metropolitan aspirations and the former's inability to present a convincing case for his theories of improvement and profitable enterprise. Although more modern methods of communication had enabled a commercial agricultural enterprise to limit

---

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter 7, p. 283, footnote 61.



the disadvantages of distance, they had not encouraged the exchange or acceptance of ideas from northern contemporaries.

## Chapter Eight

### **The success or failure of 'Improvement' on the island of Shapinsay and its implications for neighbouring societies**

The society created in the generations that bestrode the mid-nineteenth century, outlined in E.J.Hobsbawm's *The Age of Capital*, had set in motion a series of irreversible changes.<sup>1</sup> The modern concept of the independent owner-occupant had not yet reached the level of its twentieth-century heyday but the long-lease tenancies, pioneered (in Orkney) by landowners such as Samuel Laing and David Balfour, can now be seen as a natural step in that direction. However, with the benefit of hindsight, including a knowledge of the great agricultural depression of 1873-96 (alluded to in Chapter 7) it is not difficult to qualify, and quantify, the successes of 'Improvement' for a cross-section of Orcadians. Historical 'balance sheets' are crude, and non-objective, indicators of social advancement and/or material progress. The word 'progress', interpreted in any form, can inflame the sensibilities of many Orcadians and was the bron of lengthy debate, often buried in more general topics in the pages of *The Orcadian* or in the minute books of the Young Men's Literary Societies.<sup>2</sup> In this concluding chapter it is therefore necessary to evaluate the changes outlined in the previous seven chapters. Setting them, counterfactually, against

---

<sup>1</sup> E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, (London, 1975).

<sup>2</sup> Skea, *Island Images*, pp. 26-28. Betsy Skea's reminiscences of an island upbringing on Sanday include references to the Sanday Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society (originally the Young Men's Literary Society) in which her grandfather's contemporaries debated topics as diverse as 'Should the Church of Scotland be Disestablished', 'Free Trade versus Protection' or 'Self Cultivation'. The ten minutes allocated to every member in open debate was regularly punctuated by the 'march of progress'.

alternative solutions to the urgent problems of the 1840's, serves to highlight the efficiency (or deficiency) of these changes.

### **Demography as an Indicator of Social Change**

The population of Shapinsay in 1845 was 935, rising to 974 in 1861, before receding through the years of agricultural depression and consolidation, to its post-World War II low of 200.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that throughout the transforming years of 1840-1875, this population stability was also reflected in the gender and age breakdown (Graph B, Appendix F), i.e. the adult male population remained constant at approximately 30%, the adult female at 35%, the juvenile at 11% and the children at 24%.<sup>4</sup> It is only in the post-depression years that the family unit size, and the number of children, began to drop significantly. However, returning to our period of research, if a rough analysis of the total population of Orkney is attempted the demographic pattern on Shapinsay is counter to the contemporary trend throughout the islands. The net emigration figures for the decade 1861-1871 (as explained in Chapter 7) was 4,190, contained in its gravity by a natural increase of 3,465.<sup>5</sup> The following decade was more traumatic with the net emigration figure at 2,460 but the

---

<sup>3</sup> Barclay, *The Population of Orkney 1755-1961*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'juvenile' is intended, in this chapter, to refer to young people between the ages of eleven and fifteen.

<sup>5</sup> Barclay, p. 9.

natural increase declining to 2,960. On Shapinsay, however, a figure for net emigration was held (for two decades) at 2.8%, varying to 1.9%.<sup>6</sup>

The net emigration figures for Northern Europe as a whole, especially high in the Baltic basin region, are of course tied to the inability of a single staple crop (the potato) to contain the procreative results of its initial success.<sup>7</sup> As outlined in Chapter 2, the dire consequences of the potato blight were not visited on Orkney in the period 1845-7.<sup>8</sup> The fragmentation of the form of tenancy that had proved so disastrous in Ireland, Finland and areas of Western Scotland had been largely avoided in Orkney through a better spread of cereals and root crops, and the continued loyalty to bere as an all-weather provider of bread-meal. On the back of the potentially calamitous collapse of the County's proto-industries (and the slowdown of recruitment to the Hudson's Bay Company) a failure of a staple crop would have produced net emigration figures closer to five digits. Proprietorial attitudes have been contrasted in Chapter 7 for Orkney and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and detailed for specific Orcadian estates in Chapter 5.

The various forms of Lowland improvement described by Devine as an 'Agricultural Revolution' had been observed at first hand by David Balfour during his university years in Edinburgh (1831-35) with the 'fundamental change in rural

---

<sup>6</sup> Net emigration, excess of emigrants over immigrants, is distinct from natural increase, which measures births over deaths. Natural increase had ceased to figure in demographic accounts since the disappearance of plague and containment of smallpox.

<sup>7</sup> Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, pp.228-9. The exact figures for this period are not available but in the period 1861-1881 Hobsbawm estimates the figure to be in excess of one million.

<sup>8</sup> Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, pp. 50-72. Chapter 4, 'Famine 1845-1850' demonstrates the dire consequences of the reliance on one staple crop for a small tenantry subsisting on marginal land.



social structure'.<sup>9</sup> In claiming for Orkney a potential agricultural status as prestigious as that of the Lowlands he was, however, aware that the latter had undergone several structural changes which could not be replicated in Orkney. Firstly, the proto-industries of Lowland Scotland had developed into full-scale industrialisation, allowing many former agricultural workers to participate in the resulting wage economy while increasing the acreages and prosperity of the remaining farms (Devine's 'Elites'). Secondly, specialisation and variation in agriculture was well advanced with wheat and other grains viable in closer markets and a more amenable climate. Thirdly, the 'peasant' agriculture of areas like lowland Aberdeenshire encouraged the proliferation of small farms in a region in which land 'awaited cultivation'.<sup>10</sup> This last option was of course unacceptable to Balfour on his Trenabie Estate and explains his determination to retain a large indigenous population, as distinct from a controlled policy of immigration, outlined in Chapter 2. The generational balance mentioned above, in this chapter, is of course important in the avoidance of a break in the procreational chain which was so severely damaged in other communities where mass emigration of the younger, healthy, more talented inhabitants produced an ever aging and declining population. However, in the knowledge that an exponential population growth could not be sustained in the economic climate of the 1840's, the inevitability of change was not disputed by Orkney's working population. At work here is a seldom articulated but widely understood form of social contract. The simple empiricism of small tenant farmers

---

<sup>9</sup> T.M. Devine, 'The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', (T.M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Elites: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar*, University of Strathclyde, 1991-2), p. 62.

<sup>10</sup> Devine, 'The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', p. 65.

denied and frustrated the schemes of 'coffee-house' improvers, and while fearing drastic transformation, was quick to embrace a system of individual responsibility albeit linked to paternalistic supervision.<sup>11</sup> Devine has demonstrated that, 'the small farm sector survived not as an archaic hangover from an older world but because it often had a rationale in the new economic order.'<sup>12</sup> The initial success of Samuel Laing's fishing station at the village of Whitehall on Stronsay, where a capital outlay of £5,000 had enhanced a safe anchorage, had already shown that good opportunities could produce a swift response.<sup>13</sup>

The exponential rise in population, mentioned in the previous paragraph, had been the lasting legacy of the ill-fated proto-industries of the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> The introduction of money wages through kelp-burning, linen production and straw-plaiting, had indisputably produced a ripple of enthusiasm for change, albeit on the assumption that security of tenure would remain largely unchanged. If the probable stimulation of Orkney's population growth by these industries is temporarily put to one side, it is easier to assess a community with a reputation as a net exporter of meat and cereals. During the Superiority of the

---

<sup>11</sup> Schrank, *An Orkney Estate*, pp. 32-8, illustrate both the early plans for improved farming on the Holm Estate and the delaying tactics practised by factor and tenants in opposition to the more drastic (i.e. eviction and loss of common grazing) measures employed by Irvine, agent of the absentee landlord.

<sup>12</sup> T.M. Devine, 'The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', p. 74. While concentrating on the tenantry of Lowland Scotland, Devine's point is apposite as David Balfour saw his Trenabie Estate as a northern competitor to Lowland farming's profitability and fruitfulness. He regarded his small tenantry as part of Orkney's 'elite'.

<sup>13</sup> R.P. Fereday (ed.), *The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale, 1760-1868* (Kirkwall, 2000). Laing did not succeed on his Shapinsay estate in promoting improved farming (he was an absentee landlord) but his fishing station at Whitehall, Stronsay attracted 400 boats within a year of its establishment and eventually failed through a decline in fish stocks (principally herring).

<sup>14</sup> T.M. Devine, 'The Emergence of the New Elite in the Western Highlands and Islands, 1800-60', (T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde 1987-88*, Edinburgh, 1989), p. 119. This is a succinct summary of the fate of proto-industries in the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

Dundas Earls of Zetland, the exported teind and rent dues were substantial but usually left a comfortable margin to feed the local population, even one which was expanding rapidly.

### **The necessity of wholesale change & the Question of Ownership**

Was wholesale disruption of a stable population, with the island of Shapinsay as a yardstick, really necessary? Thomson and Fereday have pointed towards the steady conversion of moorland, and Commonty, throughout the post-plague period and right up to the 1840's as progress in its own right. Taking Shapinsay on its own, a population of 809 (in 1831) was sustained by 1,220 acres of arable land and 50 single-masted fishing yoles. Could a population no longer distracted from agriculture and subsistence fishing by transient proto-industries, survive and maintain its population numbers in a pastoral/arable culture? On the evidence presented in Chapter Two (the 'surge of energy years'), Four (a Healthy Populace) and Six (A quiescent society or a pragmatic tenantry), this is obviously a rhetorical question.

The questions posed in the previous paragraph return us, once more, to the role of ownership. Had the Balfours, Traills and Baikies followed many of their contemporaries to Edinburgh or London it is very likely that the failed improvements, typified by the Sutherland-Graeme Estate at Holm, of absentee lairds would have created at best an Orcadian version of crofting communities, at worst

massive emigration. Changing social patterns are just as difficult to assess. Put succinctly by Hobsbawm,

The mode of interaction between different aspects of human life, between say economics, politics, family and sexual relations, culture in the wide or narrow sense, or sensibility are interrelated. All these things are determined by the triumph of the capitalist economy, or at any rate cannot possibly be analysed without seeing this as a central fact...it destroyed and created some things, but more often it adapted, co-opted and modified what was already there.<sup>15</sup>

Carrying forward this concept of adaptation, is not to deny the centuries old Orcadian talent for survival (make-mend) which is fully explored in Chapters 1 and 2. It is the central contention of this thesis that the radical policies of improvement not only transformed the agriculture and economy of Shapinsay, but depended (crucially) on these very same abilities and instincts of adaptability and survival. If this spirit is fused with a confident and unfragmented local administration prepared to invest (and re-invest) all of its resources in its indigenous estates and farms, then the beneficial transformation which was so transparent on the Shapinsay acres of the Trenabie Estate, could have been replicated many times over, both in Orkney and elsewhere in Northern Scotland. In demonstrating 'the manifestation of the evolution of pronounced regional specialisation', Devine shows that wealth was being invested in the Highlands, but not directly in agricultural ventures.<sup>16</sup> These difficulties are also highlighted by Womack as follows, 'where Highland developments serviced the requirements of the expanding metropolitan economy, they tended to thrive, but where they were in competition without expansion, they failed.'<sup>17</sup> It is clear from an

---

<sup>15</sup> E. Hobsbawm, *On History*, (London, 1997), p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> Devine, 'The Emergence of the New Elite in the Western Highlands and Islands, 1800-60', p. 123.

<sup>17</sup> P. Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, (London, 1989), p. 116.



examination of David Balfour's educational background that here was a landowner with an attitude to land management that differed starkly from that of most of his contemporaries. Although the Trenabie Estate recruited an able factor in Marcus Calder, he was always second-in-command and never subjected to the dictates of an agent in Edinburgh. Furthermore, his employer had sufficient experience of estate management in his years as 'Younger of Trenaby', was reared in a local environment, and came to his inheritance at a mature age with firm and committed ideas. This is, also, not to deny the agency of good luck in the inheritance of a large sum of money and a raft of Parliamentary legislation which fell conveniently within the early years of his stewardship (1845-7).

Correspondence in preceding chapters has outlined David Balfour's opposition to absentees in any walk of life and his antipathy to the milch-cow attitude which he detected, and publicly lambasted, in many a Highland and Orcadian contemporary. Chapter 7 explored the use of 'uniqueness' to promote Orcadian success outside its County and to bolster a kindred spirit amongst tenant 'improvers'. At the same time David Balfour wrote derogatory accounts of Highland and Islands society (see Chapter 6, pp. 224-5) denying the very same claims for that area that are characterised, and criticised by Womack.<sup>18</sup> The artifacts of power, whether real or suggested by such ostentation as Balfour Castle, were not eschewed by a laird who firmly believed in paternalism as a unifying and inspirational guide to his tenantry. Their reciprocation was indeed welcome although the potential for collective opposition, posed initially by the United Presbyterian Church, had been

---

<sup>18</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, pp.1-2.

firmly checked by the threat of eviction or legal sanction.<sup>19</sup> The pivotal importance of the 'Promiscuous Dancing Affair' to the suppression of the dissenting opposition on Shapinsay suggests that David Balfour's initial reactions were dictated more from a sense of aggrieved honour than any active dislike for individual members of the U.P. congregation. The gap of seven months, from October 1846 until May 1847, between affront and notice of eviction may explain the severity of the outcome. A censorious reaction to the code of hospitality was always likely to arouse a gentleman's ire but the suspicion of provocation, and subsequent opportunism, is present throughout this whole episode. In general, however, David Balfour always attempted to foster amicable relations with all 'his people' (with the notable exception of the victims of the 'Promiscuous Dancing' affair) in the firm belief that 'hands-on' management was both productive and inspirational. The irony, however, of his self-conceit and his patronising language did not enter his consciousness. The well-thumbed editions of Samuel Smiles in the library of Balfour Castle are almost certainly a clue to future exchanges with a more quiescent tenantry. There were no more challenges to the secular stance of this nineteenth century laird.

### **Staunching the flow of Emigration.**

In the context of the momentous, and sometimes tragic, upheavals in contemporary Highland society, Chapter 7 has explored Orkney's success in limiting the loss of its youngest, healthiest and ablest people to the blandishments of Her Majesty's

---

<sup>19</sup> Devine, 'The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', pp.68-9. Devine's research in Sheriff Court records confirms that the threat of legal sanction, not usually adopted, was a fairly common practice in the Lowlands throughout our period.

Colonial, Land, and Emigration Commissioners.<sup>20</sup> Extensive use has, therefore, been made in earlier chapters of the emigration and immigration figures for Shapinsay and Orkney. The opening paragraph of this chapter mentions the benefits of hindsight and it is, of course, impossible to view the period 1830-75 in a vacuum. With this in mind it is useful to quote the population statistics for Shapinsay, Orkney and the North of Scotland for the period of 1875-95. With direct relevance to the Great Agricultural Depression, which centred round the years 1873-1896, it is apparent that the huge migrations from Europe (especially to the U.S.A.) was not replicated in Orkney (or indeed in Shetland). Narrowing the field to the Trenabie Estate and pinpointing Shapinsay as its administrative centre and focus of attention, it is noteworthy that these figures form a plateau when drawn in a conventional graph. The simplified population graph employed by Fenton, and reproduced in Chapter 2, gave a general overview of increase and decrease for a two hundred year period.<sup>21</sup> For our period, 1830-1875, and the two decades spanning the years of agricultural depression, the upward spiral of emigration did not relate to Shapinsay or the Northern Isles component of the Trenabie Estate. Indeed, the Shapinsay figures do not conform to the County of Orkney pattern until the Edwardian period (1901-10) when the full effects of mechanisation added to the problems of cheap overseas meat and grain importations. The ratio of cattle to sheep, roughly 1: 1.2, maintained a level

---

<sup>20</sup> Advertisements appeared weekly in *The Orcadian* from May 1858 for 'Free passages to Sydney for Single Females and Married Agricultural Labourers.' The New Zealand advertisements, in the same editions, appealed for 'Mechanics and Working Men'. Similarly to the 'Honourable Hudson's Bay Company's Establishments in North America' they offered between 30 and 50 acres of 'Free Grants of Land' The advertisements usually ended with the message, 'Orkneymen desirous of engaging on terms so advantageous will have to lose no time in coming forward.' A specimen of these advertisements has been reproduced in Chapter 5.

<sup>21</sup> Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, p. 9. Population graph, 1755-1931 (after O'Dell, 1939).

of quality in Orkney's exports in this period which in turn helped to slow population decline. This was simply due to the labour demands of cattle rearing which are more intensive than those required for sheep. Although Australia, New Zealand and Argentina were quick to exploit the improvements in refrigeration which saw imports to the U.K. rocket to 500,000 tons by 1895, a significant percentage was for sheep-meat.

A closer examination of the figures for displaced cottars, from Chapter 2, also reveals that the numbers of agricultural workers (analogous to the peasants of western and central Europe) who were leaving agricultural labour in this period, is relatively small. In an Orcadian context this is directly related to policies of improved farming and long-lease tenure. The creation of 115 viable farms on Shapinsay alone had, by 1860, considerably reduced the numbers of agricultural labourers. By removing so many potential low-wage earners at an early stage in the island's development and placing them in more remunerative employment (in the artisans village of Balfour) one of the main casualties of the Great Depression was fortuitously circumvented. The stagnation in agricultural wages for a workforce that had declined, at national level, to 8% by 1900, was largely avoided and therefore a source of potential emigration was removed from the Trenabie Estate. Britain's importation of almost half of the world's meat exports by 1881 plus a considerable proportion of cereals, eggs and cheese (the percentages rose to respectively 56%, 76% and 68% within another two decades) was the principal escalator in this momentous exodus of poorly paid, landless, labourers.<sup>22</sup> Without straying into the

---

<sup>22</sup> E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, (London, 1987), pp. 39-40.



field of ergonomics it is interesting to observe that although former farm labourers were diverted into support industries or occupations, the average number of residents on Shapinsay's new, squared, farms remained at a high level in spite of the removal of many of the menial tasks from the farming calendar.<sup>23</sup> This in turn allowed the retention of a relatively large population per acre (approximately at a ratio of 10:1) who were able to weather the most severe storms of this late nineteenth century agricultural depression. The inevitable depopulation caused by the replacement of the horse by the tractor and the combined harvester, plus two World Wars, is outwith this thesis.

Universal education standards, facilitated by the Education Act of 1872, also played a complementary role in the initial retention of juveniles who were locally employed in the flourishing trades in Kirkwall and Stromness. Whereas the parochial schools of many outlying islands (Shapinsay had two) had excelled in literacy and numeracy, the demands of the new Education Act broadened elementary education and quickly qualified its students for a wider range of occupations from nursing to teaching itself. The numbers of young people, therefore, who were actively employed in agriculture on Shapinsay had declined, by 1891, from 7.9% (in 1851) to 2.9%, a total of fifty. If a farming family, in this period, totalled six or more members then a preponderance of the older siblings remained at home as successors to parental leaseholders.<sup>24</sup> The children of artisan families, almost exclusively housed in Balfour Village, did not conform to this pattern. Throughout the County of Orkney they

---

<sup>23</sup> Ergonomics is the related study of work patterns and their relevance to economic development.

<sup>24</sup> Appendix A-The Population of Shapinsay, ps. 92-109. It was no longer estate policy to cancel a lease on the death of its signatory. A simple codicil was appended to facilitate the succession of the eldest sibling. As twenty-five year leases were now the norm, this was a frequent occurrence. Appendix O reproduces a typical lease with this provision.

passed into domestic service, or apprenticeships, until the decade which followed the First World War. The demographics of this period, however, point to the success of David Balfour's insistence, right from 1845, on continuity of tenure and an early form of positive vetting of his farming tenants. Again, although it is outwith our period, a return to the Census figures of 1891 and 1901 give conclusive proof that the 'cruel to be kind' policy employed by the Trenabie Estate had been highly effective.

### **Risk-taking at a period of financial instability?**

The decision to abandon hitherto profitable proto-industries is a prime example of contemporary risk-taking that can appear, again with the benefit of hindsight, to be relatively straightforward. The prevention of economic stagnation, the complacency of much local opinion, the imminent threat of depopulation and Womack's 'client role of periphery' were issues of topical discussion within the legal/landowning elite when David Balfour became the 5<sup>th</sup> laird of Trenaby in 1845.<sup>25</sup> The way forward appeared to be blocked by conflicting ideologies of Protectionism and Free-trade, both with their parliamentary and landowning adherents. Running across these strands of opinion was the Zetland Superiority with its (local) reputation for maladministration and exploitation. Chapters 2 and 5 have explained Balfour's use of this reputation to justify his own ambitions and to nullify any opposition from absentee or 'non-improvers'. The successes and failures of improved, enclosed,

---

<sup>25</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, p. 148.

farming have been discussed in the above chapters and exhaustively analysed for the 26,000 acre Trenabie Estate. The rapid transformation on Shapinsay had been achieved at the cost of the 'farmer with the boat' and by ignoring the potential of organised, deep-sea, fishing which would have demanded large initial investment. The short-lived success of the Minch fishing stations had proved the viability of continental-shelf fishing (they were 'short-lived' due to market pressure from better situated ports on the eastern seaboard). Gray's analysis of the inadequacies of Orcadian fisheries reinforces the argument, advanced principally by David Balfour, that even with an annual investment of £150 per boat, a yearly herring catch in excess of 100 crans would be barely able to render a profit at a pre-cured price of 20/- per barrel.<sup>26</sup> The initial investment in private harbours (public money was not available in large sums until the 1870's and then mainly for large-scale fishing on Scotland's east coast) was a risk which only Charles Laing had been willing to take at Whitehall, Stronsay. In the aftermath of Laing's experiment it is surprising that the Trenabie Estate sanctioned the construction of a curing station on Helliard Holm, Shapinsay, especially as Balfour had criticised Laing's business acumen in correspondence detailed in Chapter 2, and had fiercely opposed fishing from his earliest days in charge of the estate. Without the benefit of relevant correspondence one can only speculate that this decision was taken more from a pragmatic desire to cash-in on a temporary glut in fish stocks, rather than to broaden estate policy.

This pragmatic approach is displayed again in considering the abandonment of kelp at the outset of Balfour's stewardship. Although all available manpower was

---

<sup>26</sup> M. Gray, *The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 124-7.

to be diverted into the draining, squaring, liming and enclosing of every acre, a bountiful source of natural manure was not overlooked. In event, seaweed was still collected for the manuring of the remaining unimproved farms (usually those of below ten acres in the Sandstoun area, still supporting a small fishing community) and a small amount of kelp was burned as a cash-crop in the event of renewed interest from the glass manufacturers in Liverpool or Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Devine is correct in identifying that, 'Elsewhere, even judged by acreage farmed, the smaller men retained an important position. They had not been swept away by the later eighteenth century mania for consolidation.'<sup>27</sup> The real risk, (kelp was obviously not going to re-emerge as a major industry) involved the structure of the groundplan itself. Great care had to be exercised in the gradual development of new crops, alongside those required to feed a population 900 plus. Although the Drainage Act had surrendered £6,000, considerable additional capital was needed to cover a five-year period of non-profit. In addition money wages were being lost from the abandoned proto-industries and the wages paid to drainers and dykers was obviously of a short-term duration. It was, therefore, of prime importance that the tenants selected to occupy the new, squared, farms were kept on their land and encouraged to view their future as one removed from the old cycle of glut or want. The psychological effect of occupying new farm houses on better drained sites without the crowding which had handicapped so many ferm-touns of the past, was given a further boost by the enlargement of Balfour Village and the establishment of a permanent artisan community in tied occupancy. This created a division, early in the transformation of the island, between the tenant farmer with a lease and the former

---

<sup>27</sup> Devine, 'The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850' p.67.



cottar now relegated to dependency. The quality of the village housing, plus the public works of coal-gas lighting, post-office, shop and inn, were firm indicators of permanency and doubtless provided living and working conditions which were infinitely superior to those vacated by some on the ill-drained moorside. Nevertheless, risk was involved on two counts; the new tenancies had to produce 'green' crops within two or three harvests and the disruptive effect of the creation of an artisan community had to be alleviated by security and a healthy environment. The failure of either one of these conditions would inevitably lead to emigration and require the immigration of untried and unfamiliar workers.

At the beginning of this chapter the 'inevitability of change' was postulated. An awareness of this state of uncertainty, both in Orkney and in Britain as a whole, had created anxiety in every level of society. Initially opposed to the 1832 Reform Act, David Balfour had come to realise the inevitability of a wider franchise and had observed that registration of new voters could be an effective tool in levering out the old duality of Superior and MP. As Appendix L demonstrates, he was forced to wait until after the Second Reform Act of 1868 before the electorate of Shapinsay, and Orkney, was significantly increased to respectively, thirty-four and 1,189. While the prosperity and stability emanating from long-term performance leases eventually complimented the *embourgeoisment* of the newly enfranchised farmers, the previous twenty-five years had witnessed incremental advances in tenant confidence and prosperity.

Contrary to a body of local opinion, led by the administrators of the Zetland Estate, suspicion of Balfour's plans did not seriously dent tenant confidence in their

own ability to adapt and prosper. The ‘grandiose’ schemes at Balfour have been highlighted in Chapter 5 and although they were intended as overt displays of social control, they also signified permanency and leadership. The risky strategy of large-scale investment in three areas simultaneously (land improvement, private and public works) had to be carried forward to its conclusion in as short a period of time as was possible to cement tenant confidence and prove, conclusively, that the new agriculture would be a success. The combination of one estate, one resident landlord and one integrated agricultural policy, suggested stability, unity and momentum. Womack is perceptive in claiming that, ‘Capitalist expansion entailed certain subjective qualities- prudence, competitiveness, individualism, enlightened self-interest, internationalism, sobriety, respect for law and order- which appeared, in the Highlands as elsewhere, as the moral face of Improvement.’<sup>28</sup> We have already explored the effectiveness of ‘Highland’ games, blood-stock sales and shows and artillery brigades in the implementation of this ideology on Shapinsay. In rejecting ‘peripheralisation’, attributed by Womack to much of the Highlands during our period, and insisting that Orkney was an essential part of the economy of Scotland it is, nevertheless, indisputable that there are parallels between the ‘Highlandism’ identified by Womack and the ‘uniqueness’ of Orcadian culture explored in Chapter 7, and exploited by Balfour. While retaining the age old Autumn celebration of Harvest Home, Balfour had initiated the full panoply of the Victorian sporting calendar, published song books from traditional fiddle tunes and promoted ‘his’ islanders as an ideal, steadfast, northerner, immune to the blandishments of

---

<sup>28</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, p. 59.

contemporary British culture and the excitements of popular religious enthusiasm.<sup>29</sup> Indeed Withers is correct when he contrasts the apparent contradictions in an administration that prided itself as the true representative of traditional Orcadian values while enforcing enclosure at breakneck speed, 'the cultivated classes place value on uncultivated nature whilst demanding its 'Improvement' according to bourgeois codes of social development.'<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, within the memory of one generation, 115 farming families had been established in new self-built farmhouses amidst 30 to 110 acres of drained, fenced, limed and ditched fields. Consolidation apart, the same road system, field layout, drainage system and farm buildings (admittedly modernised) are still in place, one hundred and fifty years later.<sup>31</sup> Similarly the old artisan's village of Balfour has lost its smiddy and inn but the solidity of its construction and the sheltered nature of its location, close to its all-weather harbour, has made it an enduring attraction to historian and visitor alike.

The strict paternalism of David Balfour in the early years of his stewardship is reflected in the memoirs and letters of emigrant families, detailed in Chapter 3. There can be no doubt that Balfour risked their future in addition to his own finances, and that hardship was endured by those families who found themselves on the marginal areas of the old Commonty or who were judged 'bad farmers' by their impatient laird. However, there is ample evidence from the majority who remained on Shapinsay (and in the other Northern Isles included in the Trenabie Estate) that a

---

<sup>29</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, pp.166-167.

<sup>30</sup> C. Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', (I. Donnachie & C. Whatley (eds.) *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, 1992), p. 152.

<sup>31</sup> Consolidation in this context means the redistribution of agricultural land to adjacent farms in the aftermath of the Great Agricultural Depression. The abandoned farmhouses were not so fortunate and had to wait another half-century for new, non-agricultural, residents.

rapid *rapprochement* was soon reached. No doubt Thomson's 'grudging respect' was still very much in the background even although it is difficult to envisage alternative courses of action. David Balfour promoted Shapinsay as a shining example of enlightened estate management. The remaining 19,000 acres of the Trenabie Estate were not subjected to the same dislocation as in the Shapinsay 'squaring'. Consolidation was practiced with other landlords, notably the Dundas controlled Bishopric of Orkney, but Marcus Calder supervised liming, ditching and enclosure and the granting of 'performance' leases. Unlike the harassed tenants of Sourin on Rousay, Shapinsay's population did not have an effective leader among its spiritual leaders with the United Presbyterian Church unable to match the mettle of the Free Church elsewhere in Orkney or the Highlands. Hunter has observed that, 'Highland landlords' experience of the popular religious movement had done little to convince them that its institutionalisation in a Church founded on an essential anti-landlord principle would be to their advantage', was shared in part by David Balfour, excluding his tolerance of the Morisonian Congregationalists.<sup>32</sup> However, the circumstances of ownership and stewardship on the Traill-Burroughs estate, described in Chapter 3, were hardly similar to that of the Trenabie Estate. Indeed, David Balfour had been suspicious and aggressive (at Evie on Mainland Orkney) in his reaction to Free Church congregations as demonstrated in Chapter 5 (p. 190). Dissent, as an enduring form of resistance to Improvement was not, however, successful on Shapinsay or within the confines of the Trenabie Estate. Contrary to Hunter's observations, resistance on Shapinsay led, within only a handful of years, to

---

<sup>32</sup> J. Hunter, 'The Emergence of the Crofting Community: The Religious Contribution 1798-1843', (*Scottish Studies*, Edinburgh, volume 18 ; 1974.), p. 111.



an abandonment of the most vociferous community (the United Presbyterians) by almost half its flock and (supported by the Morisonians) a wary acceptance of the new commercial agriculture. The total absence of any opposing view in the kirk session notebooks (examined in Chapter 5) and the long leases extended to all but the five evicted elders of 'Promiscuous Dancing' notoriety clearly demonstrates the tenants' rejection of dissent as an effective counter to improvement. Finally, the question of 'class conflict' (raised by the Disruption of 1843) is also broached by Hunter.<sup>33</sup> David Balfour, however, was determined to avoid a chasm between landlord and a potential proletariat. The artisans identified as residents of Balfour Village had become, by the 1870's, tenants and tradesmen.

### **Imports and Exports – a true reflection of an improver's success?**

Earlier references to *Peace's Almanac for Orkney and Shetland* concentrated on the Voters Roll for the County of Orkney. Culled from the accounts of the Kirkwall Harbour Trust, the volumes for 1860 to 1890 contain the gross tonnage figures for imports and exports (principally through Kirkwall itself) divided between livestock, cereals, timber and household goods. These gross figures, however, are misleading in that the years 1883-90 show only a marginal excess of 5% for imports over exports. This margin does not include North American grain shipments, Argentine beef, machine tools or agricultural machinery parts, items that were becoming prevalent in manifests for other areas of Britain and Europe. Orkney, in this period, was still a net

---

<sup>33</sup> Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, pp. 104-5.

exporter in agricultural produce. The gross figures mentioned above were accounted for by an increased volume of manufactured consumer goods.

Both the import of consumer goods and the net export of livestock point to the continuing success of agriculture in Orkney in this period, albeit on a reduced scale from the heights of the 1860's and 1870's. The decision to scale down cereal production, and compete with mainland Scotland in areas where Orkney had no natural disadvantages, had borne fruit in these decades and was fundamental to the avoidance of the chronic problems visited on the north and western areas towards the end of the nineteenth century. Had Orkney continued to practice a mixed agricultural economy through the 'high farming' periods of the century she too would have suffered from tumbling cereal prices in the 1880's and failed to benefit from the advantages of foresight and investment which had carried the County out of the doldrums of the post-Napoleonic era. Not all of this investment produced such positive results, however, and the Trenabie Estate made its mistake in the construction of a stone jetty, two-storey storage shed and drying slabs on Helliarr Holm.<sup>34</sup> It was an experiment which did not survive into the stewardship of the 6<sup>th</sup> laird, Edward Balfour (began 1885).

### **The case for a 'blueprint' for the rest of Northern & Western Scotland**

David Balfour's 'blueprint' for the rest of northern and western Scotland was not amenable to his contemporaries in those areas. An area which carried the weight of a

---

<sup>34</sup> See Chapter 8, p. 300.

‘Special Policy Area’ was given little opportunity (by proprietor and government alike) to attract the patient investment policies which were necessary to co-ordinate its disparate industries under a number of umbrella estates or enterprises.<sup>35</sup> The undoubted success of Balfour’s transformation of his Orcadian estate, seen in a microcosm on Shapinsay, ensured the survival of a resilient population and staved-off the worst excesses of emigration by co-opting the positive elements in nineteenth century capitalist agriculture. However, his successful solutions to Orkney’s nineteenth century problems of economic stagnation and population loss were too radical and too expensive for other areas of Scotland where infrequent and haphazard transport combined with the huge distances and unfavorable terrain to reduce the likelihood of effective large scale commercial farming. Devine has identified the ‘exceptional availability of Highland Estates’ and the fact that, ‘the region was no longer inaccessible. New transport facilities guaranteed reasonably quick and comfortable connections from the great urban centres in the South.’<sup>36</sup> David Balfour, however, would certainly have disapproved of, ‘a significant contribution in some localities to the economic recovery which took place in the crofting region in the aftermath of the potato famine’, where that recovery did not embrace commercial farming.<sup>37</sup> In addition a ‘blueprint’ requires either complete control of resources by one proprietor, or the co-operation of a majority of likeminded landlords to ensure that no government agency, committee or department is allowed to prevaricate in the provision of enabling legislation or initiating financial support. The ‘blueprint’ for

---

<sup>35</sup> E.A. Cameron, ‘The Scottish Highlands as a Special Policy Area, 1886-1965’, *Rural History* 8 (1997) pps. 195-215. The term ‘Special Policy Area’ is appropriate here to describe the measures taken by public agencies that ran contrary to Balfour’s ideas of improvement and integration.

<sup>36</sup> Devine, ‘The Emergence of the New Elite in the Western Highlands and Islands, 1800-60’, p. 128.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

Shapinsay, unlike the government initiatives proposed for the Highlands and Western Isles, originated with the interested parties in Orkney and were pursued relentlessly by Balfour and his likeminded contemporaries. Shapinsay, and the remainder of the Trenabie Estate, did not conform to this summary by Devine of much Highland investment, 'Others saw land purchase in the Highlands as a means of making capital gains. As demand for estates developed, speculators exploited the opportunity of buying land in a rising market and selling later at a handsome profit.'<sup>38</sup>

An inheritance of sound stewardship and willing co-operation was, and has, passed down to future generations of Orcadian farmers whose 'grudging' acceptance of a radical agricultural plan stabilised a community at threat from intractable problems and justified the initial sacrifice of familiar surroundings and unchanging practices. The subtle process of tenant engagement in improvement on Shapinsay is examined in Chapter 6 (A 'quiescent society' or a pragmatic tenancy on the eve of high agriculture). The seemingly 'silent' but in fact long-drawn-out process of improvement of the Lowlands that is alluded to above (pp. 293-294) was far from replicated in the lives of their Orcadian contemporaries who had entered the 'Agricultural Revolution' fully two generations later than their southern rivals. While displaying an admirable degree of pragmatism and adaptability in bending to the will of Balfour's rapid transformations he (the tenant) had retained his earlier family structure, albeit in smaller membership numbers, and preserved a strong Orcadian identity in what remained an almost exclusively native population. The level, green,

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 125.



squared fields of Shapinsay are an eloquent testament to the persevering skills and temperament of one enlightened proprietor and the pragmatism of his tenant farmers.

## **Bibliography**

### **1. Primary Sources**

The Balfour Papers (contained in the Orkney County Library and Archive, henceforth O.A.) is a complete collection of the correspondence of the Balfour's of Trenaby from 1577 to 1921. William Balfour (1781-1846) and David Balfour (1811-1887) are of principal interest to this thesis. The O.A., also contains miscellaneous observations, petitions, maps, rental books and stock books relating to the above.

#### **a. Correspondence of William Balfour**

O.A., D2/81 (incoming); D2/3/17; D2/4/8; D2/6/12; D2/7/5; D2/11/19;  
D2/36/17; D2/42 & D3/14 (all outgoing).

#### **b. Correspondence of David Balfour**

O.A., D2/51/1-14 (incoming); D2/13/6/12; D2/15/8-14 & D2/16/43-59 (all outgoing).

#### **c. Correspondence of Marcus Calder (estate factor)**

O.A., D2/15/7.

#### **d. Miscellaneous correspondence and petitions.**

O.A., D1/417; D2/14/4/12 (petitions); D2/28/6; D2/39/12; D2/40/15; D2/43/3;  
D31/24/3 (Marwick sketches) & D34/R/1/3 (petitions).

#### **e. Estate Rental, Stock lists and Compt records**

O.A., D2/1/10 (compt records); D2/2/10 (accounts for Sound, Shapinsay); D2/5  
(inventories); D2/6-23 (account books); D2/8 (valuation rolls); D2/122  
(rental books); D2/7/1 (compt records) & D9/5 (straw-plaiting records).

**f. Minutes of Shapinsay Churches**

NAS, CE 55, minutes of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland; NAS, CH3/250/1-2, minutes of the U.P. Presbytery, Kirkwall; NAS, CH3/1099, minutes of the Anti-Burgher Church; O.A., OCR 3/6-7, minutes of the Presbytery of the North Isles-Church of Scotland & OCR 27/1, minutes of the Synod of the North Isles.

**g. Minutes of Kirkwall Town Council**

O.A., D2/7/10.

**h. Valuation Rolls for the County of Orkney**

O.A., VR111.

**i. Census of Great Britain (1851) for Religious Worship & Education, Scotland**

Parliamentary Papers, LIX, 1854.

**j. Sheriff Court Records, Kirkwall**

O.A., Sc/11/86/1-15.

**k. Commissioners of Supply, Orkney**

O.A., D2/4/8

**l. Maps of Shapinsay**

O.A., D/12/1 & D1/198

**m. Reports for Her Majesty's Commission for Woods, Fields & Rivers**

NAS, CR/427; NAS, RHP 2891-7; O.A., D34/D/3/2 (division of Commonly of Shapinsay) & D34/D/4/2 (Barlas Report).

## n. Statistical Reports

O.S.A., vol. XIX, Orkney and Shetland (1798); N.S.A., vol. XV, Orkney and Shetland (1845) & T.S.A., vol. IX, Orkney and Shetland (1985).

## o. Newspapers & Journals

*The Orkney and Shetland Almanac*, (Kirkwall, 1846-75).

*The Orcadian*, (Kirkwall, 1854- ).

*The Orkney Herald*, (Kirkwall, 1860-1960).

*The Orkney View*, (Kirkwall, 1988-2003).

*John O' Groat Journal*, (Wick, 1836- ).

## 2. Contemporary Works of the Nineteenth Century (and earlier)- Secondary Sources

Balfour, D.	<i>Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs: A Memorial for Orkney</i> , (Edinburgh, 1860).
Barry, G.	<i>A History of the Orkney Islands</i> , (Edinburgh, 1805).
Bentham, J.	<i>Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation</i> , (London, 1789).
Calder, J.	<i>History of Caithness</i> , (Edinburgh, 1861).
Dasant, G.W.	<i>The Saga of Hacon or Hakoner Saga</i> , (London, 1894).
Haldane, A.	<i>The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthly and his brother, James Haldane</i> , (Edinburgh, 1852).
Haldane, J.	<i>Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Islands</i> , (Edinburgh, 1798).



- Home, H. (Lord Kames) *The Gentleman Farmer*, (Edinburgh, 1776).
- Liebig, J. von *Chemistry of Agriculture*, (Leipzig, 1840).
- Malthus, T. *Essay on the Principle of Population*, (London, 1798).
- Neill, P. *A Tour Through Some of the Islands of Orkney & Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1806).
- Paterson, J. *Memoir of Robert Paterson, D.D.*, (Edinburgh, 1874).
- Peterkin, A. *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom & Bishopric of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 1820).
- Pringle, R.O. *On the Agriculture of the Islands of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 1874).
- Shirreff, J. *General View of the Agriculture of the Islands of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 1814).
- Tudor, J.R. *The Orkneys and Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1883).

### 3. Secondary Sources- Twentieth Century

- Adams, I.H. (ed.). *Directory of Former Scottish Commonties*, (Scottish Record Society, 1971).
- Anderson, M. *British Population History*, (Cambridge, 1996).
- Anderson, P. *Robert Stuart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland*, (Edinburgh, 1982).
- Barclay, R.S. *The Population of Orkney, 1755-1961*, (Kirkwall, 1965).
- Batey, C., Jesch, J. & Morris, C.D. *The Viking Age*, ((Edinburgh, 1995).
- Blake, R. *Disraeli*, (London, 1966).
- Brown, C.G. *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh, 1960).
- Burleigh, J.H.S. *A Church History of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1960).
- Cage, R.A. *The Scottish Poor Law, 1745-1845*, (Edinburgh, 1981).

- Cameron, E.A. 'The Scottish Highlands as a Special Policy Area, 1886 to 1965', (*Rural History*, 8, 1997).
- Campbell, R.H. *Owners and Occupiers: Changes in Rural Society in South West Scotland before 1914*, (Aberdeen, 1991).
- Carter, I. *Farm Life in North-East Scotland, 1840-1914*, (Edinburgh, 1979).
- Clouston, J.S. *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 1914).
- 'Two Features of Orkney', (*Scottish Historical Review*, rev. 14, 1924).
- A History of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 1932).
- Coull, J.R. *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1996).
- Cowan, E.J. 'Caithness in the Sagas', (Baldwin, J. ed., *Caithness; Cultural Crossroads*, Edinburgh, 1982).
- Crawford, B.E. 'The Pawning of Orkney & Shetland', (*Scottish Historical Review*, rev.48).
- Cuthbert, O.D. (ed.). *Lowe's History of Orkney*, (Kirkwall, 2001).
- Devine, T.M. *The Great Highland Famine*, (Edinburgh, 1988).
- The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815*, (Edinburgh, 1994).
- Exploring the Scottish Past*, (Edinburgh, 1995).
- 'The Emergence of the New Elite in the Western Highlands and Islands, 1800-60', (*Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-88*, Edinburgh, 1989) Dodgston, R.
- 'The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', (*Scottish Elites: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1991-1992*, Edinburgh, 1994).
- Dodgston, R. *Land and Society in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1981)

- Fenton, A. *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, (East Linton, 1997).
- Fereday, R.P. 'William Balfour after the Forty-Five', (*Orkney Heritage*, Kirkwall, 1981).
- The Orkney Balfours*, (Oxford, 1990).
- (ed.) *The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale, 1760-1868*, (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Flinn, M.W. (ed.). *Scottish Population History*, (Cambridge, 1977).
- Foden, F.D. 'Seaweed', (*The Orkney View*, nr.20, Kirkwall, 1995).
- Foster, S. & Smout, T.C. 'Case Studies for the Northern Isles of Scotland', (*The History of Soils & Field Systems*, Edinburgh, 1994).
- Fry, M. *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1987).
- Garson, S. *Balfour Village*, (Aberdeen, 1999).
- Gray, M. *The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914*, (Oxford, 1978).
- Handley, J.E. *The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1963).
- Harper, M. *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, (London, 2003).
- Hewison, W.S. (ed.) *The Diary of Patrick Fea of Stove, Orkney, 1766-1796*, (East Linton, 1997).
- Hobsbawm, E. *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875*, (London, 1975).
- The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, (London, 1987).
- On History*, (London, 1997).
- Hornby, K. 'Christian I and the Pawning of Orkney', (*Scottish Historical Review*, rev. 48, 1969).
- Hossack, B.H. *Kirkwall in the Orkneys*, (Kirkwall, 1900).

- Hunter, J. 'The Emergence of the Crofting Community: The Religious Contribution 1798-1843', (*Scottish Studies*, vol. 18, 1974).
- The Making of the Crofting Community*, (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Irvine, W. *The Isle of Shapinsay*, (Aberdeen, 1987).
- Luther-Davis, S. *The Urban Historical Geography of Kirkwall & Stromness*, (Glasgow, 1965).
- Machin, G.I.T. *Politics & the Church in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, (Oxford, 1977).
- McNaughton, Rev. W.D. *The Scottish Congregational Ministry, 1794-1993*, (Glasgow, 1993).
- Marwick, E.W. *An Orkney Anthology*, (ed. Robertson, J.D.M., Kirkwall, 1991).
- Marwick, H. *Orkney Farm Names*, (Edinburgh, 1952).
- Michie, D. *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, (Oxford, 1960).
- Mitchison, R. *Agricultural Sir John, The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754-1835*, (Edinburgh, 1961).
- Nicolaisen, W.F.H. 'Norse Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', (*Scottish Historical Review*, rev. 48, 1969).
- Orr, W. *Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters: The Western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian Times*, (Edinburgh, 1982).
- Philipson, N.T. & Mitchison, R. *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, (Edinburgh, 1996).
- Rostow, W.W., Gayer, A.D., Schwartz, A.I. *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790-1850, Volume I*, (Oxford, 1953).
- Russell, P.G. *The String Disaster of 1822*, (Kirkwall, 1992).
- Scranks, G. *An Orcadian Estate: Improvements at Graemshall, 1827-1888*, (East Linton, 1995).



- Shaw, F. *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Skea, B. *Island Images*, (Stromness, 1982).
- Smith, D.G. *Discovering Horse-Drawn Farm Machinery*, (Princes Risborough, 1979).
- Smout, T.C. *The History of the Scottish People*, (London, 1985).
- Steinnes, A. 'The Huseby System in Orkney', (*Scottish Historical Review*, rev.48, 1959).
- Symon, J.A. *Scottish Farming*, (Edinburgh, 1959).
- Thompson, E.P. *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Custom*, (New York, 1993).
- Thomson, W.P.L. *The Little General and the Rousay Crofters: Crisis and Conflict on an Orkney Crofting Estate*, (Edinburgh, 1981).
- Lord Henry Sinclair's 1492 Rental of Orkney*, (Kirkwall, 1991).
- The New History of Orkney*, (Edinburgh, 2001).
- Timperley, L.R. (ed.). *Directory of Landownership in Scotland, 1770*, (Edinburgh, 1976).
- Turgenev, I. *Fathers and Sons*, (trans. R.Edmonds, London, 1965).
- Wainwright, F.T. *The Northern Isles*, (London, 1962).
- Webster, Rev. D. *The History of the Kirkwall United Presbyterian Congregation*, (Kirkwall, 1910).
- Withers, C. 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', (*The Manufacture of Scottish History*, ed. I.Donnachie & C. Watley, Edinburgh, 1992).
- Womack, P. *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, (London, 1989).
- Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. *The Population History of England, 1541-1871*, (Cambridge, 1981).
- Youngson, A.J. *After the Forty-Five*, (Edinburgh, 1973).

#### 4. Unpublished Secondary Sources

- Fereday, R.P. 'The Lords of Eighteenth Century Orkney', (Aberdeen University, unpublished PhD thesis).
- Marwick, E.W. 'Journey into Serfdom', (manuscript in O.A., D34/D/5/6).
- Sutherland, P.J. 'The Laird, the Factor and the Elders: Change and Stress in Shapinsay, 1847.' (unpublished CSYS dissertation, Kirkwall, 1985).

#### 5. Newspapers

The John O' Groat Journal, 1836- present.

The Orcadian, 1854- present.

The Orkney Herald, 1860-1960.

#### 6. Printed Records

- R.Barlas, Report on the Bishopric and Crown Estates on Shapinsay, Orkney for Her Majesty's Commission for Woods, Fields and Rivers, 1845.
- A.C.O'Dell, *The Land of Britain: Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain*, Part 4, Orkney (London, 1939).
- Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the conditions of the Crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (London, 1884).
- Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, *Methods of Improvement*, on the Highland Destitution Fund, (Portree, 1847).
- The Scottish Journal of Agriculture, Vol. III, (Edinburgh, 1920) and Vol. XXXii (1953).
- Select Committee on Land Revenues (1834), Act 6, George III, c. 87.
- J. Shireff, General View of the Agriculture of Orkney and Shetland (Edinburgh, 1814), Act 51, George III, c. 3, 1811.

# APPENDIX A The Population of Shapinsay, 1841-1881

1841

Farm or Dwelling	Name	Occupation & Sex	Age	Origin	Religion
Hewan	James Russell	Farmer	55	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Isabella "	Wife	50	"	
	James "	Son & Fisherman	20	Shapinsay	
	Mary "	Daughter	15	"	
	Magnus "	Son & Farmworker	15	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	11	"	
	Samuel "	Son	8	"	
Courthalls	Arthur Russell	Carpenter	60	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Janet "	Wife	50	"	
	Magnus "	Son	7	"	
Laradale	William Russell	Fisherman	40	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Betsy "	Wife	40	"	
	Henry "	Son	15	"	
	Catherine "	Daughter	15	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	10	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	8	"	
	James "	Son	6	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	4	"	
	Marion "	Sister-in-law	40	"	
Littlequoy	Eliza Manson	Pauper	80	"	C.of S.
	Margaret Cumming	Daughter & Knitter	45	"	
Parkhall	Magnus Swanney	Farmer/Cottar	70	"	C.of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	50	"	
Trattleton	William Work	Farmer	25	"	C.of S.
	Mary "	Wife	25	"	
	Thomas "	Son	4	"	
	James "	Son	2	"	
	Marion "	Sister-in-law	25	"	
Ousebister	George Leslie	Farmer/Cottar	55	"	C.of S.
	Jane "	Wife	50	"	
	Ann Work	Sister-in-law	50	"	
	John Heddle	Farm Servant	50	"	
Mounthoolie	Peter Bews	Farmer	35	"	C.of S.
	Mary "	Wife	45	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	15	"	
	William "	Son	13	"	
	James "	Son	8	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	5	"	
Laro	William Work	Farmer	45	Shapinsay	C. of S.

	Margaret "	Wife	40	"	
	William "	Son	20	"	
	Catherine "	Daughter	15	"	
	John "	Son	13	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	11	"	
	James "	Son	8	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	6	"	
	Christian "	Daughter	4	"	
	May "	Daughter	2	"	
Wieland	John Dennison	Farmer	50	Sanday	C. of S.
	Christian "	Wife	50	Shapinsay	
	Mary "	Daughter	20	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
	John "	Son	15	"	
	William "	Son	15	"	
	Christian "	Daughter	10	"	
	Barbara Leslie	Farm Servant	20	"	
	Alexander Russell	Farm Servant	15	"	
	James Hutchison	Farm Servant	12	"	
	Margaret Peace	Farm Servant	12	"	
Garth	Thomas Nicolson	Farmer	50	"	C. of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	45	"	
	William "	Son	20	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
	James "	Son	15	"	
	John "	Son	10	"	
Runabout	Thomas Shearer	Farmer	80	"	U.P.
	Marion Hepburn	Sister-in-law	80	"	
	James Shearer	Son	40	"	
	Magnus "	Son	35	"	
	Francis "	Daughter-in-law	30	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	20	"	
	Janet "	Granddaughter	2	"	
	Ann Stevenson	Farm Servant	11	"	
	Betsy Sinclair	Farm Servant	10	"	
Greenwall	Thomas Russell	Fisherman	40	"	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	40	"	
	Thomas "	Son	15	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	13	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	9	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	7	"	
	Jemima "	Daughter	4	"	
	Catherine "	Daughter	1	"	
Waltness	John Work	Farmer	80	"	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	75	"	
	William "	Son	45	"	
	Barbara "	Daughter-in-law	35	"	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	14	"	
	Barbara "	Granddaughter	11	"	
	William "	Grandson	9	"	
	Jane Work	Granddaughter	6	Shapinsay	
Waltness (cont.)	Magnus "	Grandson	5	"	
	James "	Grandson	2	"	



Quoys of Ayreacks	Thomas Shearer	Farmer	35	"	C. of S.
	Janet "	Wife	45	"	
	William "	Son	12	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	10	"	
	Thomas "	Son	8	"	
	James "	Son	6	"	
	Margaret Rendall	Aunt	75	"	
Gebro	Magnus Hutchison	Farmer	45	"	C. of S.
	Barbara "	Wife	30	"	
	Elizabeth "	Sister-in-law	35	"	
	Margaret Haskeir	Farm Servant	15	"	
	Andrew Rae	Farm Servant	10	"	
Bught	James Russell	Pauper	75	"	U.P.
	Elizabeth "	Wife	75	"	
	Marjory Sketheway	Knitter	60	"	
	George Sinclair	Weaver	45	"	
	Betsy "	Wife	35	"	
Newfield	William Work	Fisherman	50	"	C. of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	45	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	20	"	
	James "	Son	15	"	
	Alexander "	Son	15	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	8	"	
Cowes	Marion Cooper	Pauper	65	"	U.P.
	Margaret Sinclair	Spinner	40	"	
	Mary Sinclair	Straw-plaiter	30	"	
Newbraes	James Work	Farmer/Cottar	65	"	C. of S
	Elspeth "	Wife	60	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	35	"	
Mountpleasant	James Irvine	Fisherman	30	"	C.of S
	Mary "	Wife	30	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	10	"	
	John "	Son	10	"	
	James "	Son	5	"	
Sethaquoy	William Nicolson	Farmer	53	"	C.of S
	Ellen "	Wife	53	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	30	"	
	Edward "	Son	25	"	
	Thomas "	Son	25	"	
	Magnus "	Son	15	"	
	William Peace	Farm Servant	9	"	
Shuttlefield	James Liddle	Farmer/Cottar	50	"	C.of S
	Ellen "	Wife	55	"	
	Eliza "	Daughter	15	"	
Westhill 'twa-beeld' holding	James Hutchison	Fisherman	40	"	C.of S
	Marion "	Wife	35	"	
	Marion "	Daughter	15	"	
	William "	Son	14	"	

	Margaret	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Robert	"	Son	7	"	
	Magnus	"	Son	4	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	1	"	
	Magnus Bews		Farmer	55	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Daughter	30	"	
	William	"	Son	25	"	
	Barbara	"	Daughter	20	"	
	Jane	"	Granddaughter	7	"	
	William	"	Grandson	1	"	
Redbanks	James Cooper		Farmer/Cottar	45	"	C.of S
	Jane	"	Wife	40	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	20	"	
	Marion Nicolson		Spinner	53	"	
	Katherine Work		Knitter	60	"	
Furrowend	James Heddle		Fisherman	35	"	C.of S
	Mary	"	Wife	35	"	
	Margaret	"	Sister	35	"	
	Janet	"	Sister	30	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	8	"	
	James	"	Son	2	"	
	Anne	"	Daughter	1	"	
	Mary Work		Farm Servant	10	"	
Agricola	Magnus Work		Farmer	40	"	C.of S
	Betsy	"	Wife	40	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Betsy	"	Daughter	9	"	
	Christian	"	Daughter	6	"	
	Magnus	"	Son	3	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	1	"	
Whistlebare	William Work		Fisherman	40	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	40	"	
	Christian	"	Daughter	14	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	12	"	
	James	"	Son	10	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	8	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	5	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	1	"	
Widewalls	James Work		Fisherman	35	"	U.P.
	Ellen	"	Wife	35	"	
	David	"	Son	10	"	
	James	"	Son	9	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	7	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	6	"	
	William	"	Son	4	"	
Widewalls (cont.)	Barbara Work		Daughter	2	"	
	John	"	Son	1	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	1 month	"	
Veaquoy	James Work		Fisherman	35	"	C.of S
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	30	"	

	William	“	Son	9	“	
	Barbara	“	Daughter	7	“	
	Mary	“	Daughter	5	“	
	Ann	“	Daughter	3	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	1	“	
	John	“	Son	1 month	“	
Brechan	John Scott		Farmer	50	“	C.ofS
	Elizabeth	“	Wife	50	“	
	William	“	Son	20	“	
	James	“	Son	15	“	
	Mary	“	Daughter	15	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	14	“	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	12	“	
Westoun	Magnus Hepburn		Farmer	65	“	C.ofS
	Jane	“	Wife	65	“	
	Margaret Rendall		Farm Servant	15	“	
	Isabella Reid		Farm Servant	15	“	
Gorn of Sound	James Drever		Farmer	70	“	U.P.
	Barbara Heddle		Sister-in-law	70	“	
	John Drever		Son	30	“	
	Ann	“	Daughter	30	“	
	Esther	“	Daughter-in-law	30	“	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	20	“	
	James	“	Grandson	7	“	
	Eliza	“	Granddaughter	5	“	
	Mary	“	Granddaughter	3	“	
	William Sinclair		Grandson	4	“	
Brodgar	William Hume		Fisherman	35	“	C.ofS
	Ann	“	Wife	35	“	
	John	“	Son	13	“	
	William	“	Son	10	“	
	Edward	“	Son	7	“	
	George	“	Son	6	“	
	James	“	Son	3	“	
	Isabella Brodie		Straw-plaiter	35	“	
Burnside	Margaret Heddle		Midwife	70	“	C.ofS
	William	“	Son & Miller	45	“	
	Jane	“	Daughter-in-law	45	“	
	Malcolm	“	Grandson	15	“	
	Robert	“	Grandson	15	“	
	William	“	Grandson	14	“	
	Jane	“	Grand-daughter	11	“	
Snesquoy	John Laughton		Farmer	80	“	C.ofS
Snesquoy (cont.)	David	“	Grandson	20	“	
	James	“	Grandson	9	“	
	Ann Hume		Farm Servant	15	“	
Shoreside Village	James Russell		Carpenter	70	“	U.P.
	William	“	Son & Carpenter	30	“	
	Christian Hepburn		Farm Servant	25	“	
	Thomas Work		Carpenter's Assistant	20	“	

Shoreside Village (cont.)

William Downie	Carpenter's Apprentice	15	"	
David Inkster	Carpenter's Apprentice	15	"	
John Peace	Carpenter's Apprentice	15	"	
Thomas Laughton	Fisherman	35	"	C.ofS.
Catherine "	Wife	30	"	
Thomas "	Son	10	"	
William "	Son	7	"	
Betsy "	Daughter	4	"	
David "	Son	3	"	
Margaret "	Daughter	2 months	"	
William Liddle	Fisherman	25	"	C.ofS.
Margaret "	Wife	20	"	
Andrew "	Brother & Fisherman	20	"	
William "	Son	1	"	
Thomas Irvine	Fisherman	35	"	C.ofS.
Mary "	Daughter	7	"	
John Bews	Fisherman	30	"	U.P.
Margaret "	Wife	30	"	
Eliza "	Daughter	5	"	
John "	Son	2	"	
William "	Son	1	"	
William Liddle	Fisherman	30	"	U.P.
Irene "	Wife	20	"	
William "	Son	5	"	
Irene "	Daughter	1	"	
Thomas Russell	Miller	60	"	C.ofS.
Elizabeth "	Wife	60	"	
Coventry "	Sister-in-law	45	"	
Margaret "	Daughter & Straw-pl.	20	"	
Coventry "	Daughter & Straw-pl.	20	"	
William Donaldson	Blacksmith	20	"	C.ofS.
Margaret "	Wife	20	"	
James "	Brother	13	"	
William "	Son	1	"	
Jane Linklater	Straw-plaiter	35	"	U.P.
Jane "	Daughter	11	"	
Peter "	Son	8	"	
John Peace	Fisherman	45	"	U.P.
Elizabeth "	Wife	35	"	
Margaret "	Daughter	14	"	
David Peace	Son	4	"	
George "	Son	4 months	"	
Mary "	Daughter	4 months	"	
Thomas Donaldson	Blacksmith	20	"	C.ofS.
Betsy "	Wife	25	"	
Robert Stevenson	Fisherman	20	"	U.P.
Margaret "	Wife	25	"	



	Thomas	"	Son	2	"	
	John	"	Son	2 months	"	
	Magnus Williamson		Carpenter	25	"	U.P.
	Jane	"	Wife	25	"	
	Hugh Marwick		Carpenter's Assistant	15	"	
	Robert Mainland		Carpenter's Assistant	15	"	
	John Work		Carpenter's Assistant	15	"	
	Robert Sketheway		Merchant	40	"	U.P.
	Robert	"	Son	7	"	
	Mary Liddle		Farm Servant	30	"	
	Christian Irvine		Farm Servant	20	"	
	George Reid		Male Servant	45	"	U.P.
	Marion	"	Wife	35	"	
	Jessie	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	15	"	
	William	"	Son	9	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	6	"	
	George	"	Son	3	"	
	David	"	Son	6 months	"	
	Andrew Drummond		Fisherman	50	"	U.P
	Christian	"	Wife	50	"	
	Margaret Stevenson		Mother-in-law	80	"	
	Jane Nicolson		Straw-plaiter	45	"	U.P
	Margaret	"	Sister & Straw-plaiter	45	"	
	David Drever		Shoemaker	30	"	U.P
	Ann	"	Wife	35	"	
	William Laughton		Tailor	45	"	U.P
	Mary	"	Wife	45	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	5	"	
	Peter Peace		Wright	70	"	U.P
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	70	"	
	William	"	Son & Wright	30	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter-in-law	30	"	
	William	"	Grandson	6	"	
	Peter	"	Grandson	2	"	
	Thomas Cooper		Apprentice	20	"	
Shoreside Village (cont.)	William Heddle		Fisherman	45	"	C.ofS
	Christian Heddle		Wife	35	"	
	Eliza Heddle		Daughter	8	"	
	James	"	Son	6	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	4	"	
	Robert	"	Son	2	"	
	John	"	Son	2 months	"	
	Ellen	"	Mother	65	"	
	William Groat		Fisherman	30	"	U.P.
	Jane	"	Wife	30	"	
	Ann	"	Daughter	8	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	6	"	

	William	"	Son	3	"	
	William Drever		Fisherman	20	"	U.P.
	Janet	"	Wife	20	"	
	James	"	Son	1	"	
	John Drever		Fisherman	20	"	C.ofS
	Janet	"	Wife	20	"	
	James Fowles		Pauper	60	"	
	Margaret Heddle		Straw-plaiter	40	"	
	William Sketheway		Fisherman	45	"	U.P.
	Christian	"	Wife	30	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	12	"	
	Robina	"	Daughter	8	"	
	William	"	Son	6	"	
	John	"	Son	5	"	
	Betsy	"	Daughter	2	"	
	George	"	Son	6 months	"	
	Janet	"	Mother	70	"	
Cliffdale House	William Balfour		Proprietor	60	"	Episcop.
	Mary	"	Wife	45	Kirkwall	"
	David	"	Son	30	Shapinsay	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Frances	"	Daughter	15	"	
	James	"	Son	11	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Edward	"	Son	9	"	
	Janet	"	Daughter	7	"	
	Marion	"	Daughter	5	"	
	Andrew Smillie		Factor	20	"	C.ofS.
	Catherine Craigie		Domestic Servant	55	"	
	Janet Moncrieff		Domestic Servant	50	"	
	Janet Wishart		Domestic Servant	35	"	
	Margaret Hume		Domestic Servant	30	"	
	Isabella Mouat		Domestic Servant	30	"	
	James Drummond		Male Servant	20	"	
Sound	Thomas Smith		Grieve	55	"	C.of S
	Margaret	"	Wife	55	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	20	"	
	Margaret Work		Farm Servant	55	"	
	Jane Gullion		Farm Servant	20	"	U.P.
Sound (cont.)	Mary Gullion		Farm Servant	20	"	U.P.
	Robert Sinclair		Male Servant	40	"	C.of S.
	Ann	"	Wife	25	"	
	William Heddle		Male Servant	25	"	
	James Work		Male Servant	12	"	
	Thomas Rendall		Male Servant	55	"	
	Ellen	"	Wife	55	"	
	Thomas Seater		Tailor	50	"	
	Euphemia	"	Wife	50	"	
	John	"	Son	12	"	
Widewalls	James Work		Pauper	65	"	
	Margaret	"	Wife & Straw-plaiter	50	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter & Pauper	25	"	

Grasquoy	William Swanney	Farmer	60	"	C.ofS.
	Eliza "	Wife	70	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	25	"	
	William "	Grandson	1 month	"	
	Barbara Work	Straw-plaiter	50	"	
	David "	Pauper	35	"	
Dogspaw	Thomas Hutchison	Fisherman	35	"	C.ofS
	Mary "	Wife	30	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	8	"	
	Thomas "	Son	5	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	3	"	
	Ann Heddle	Straw-plaiter	55	"	
Howe	Catherine Nicolson	Farm Servant	15	"	C.ofS
	William Craigie	Farmer	55	"	
	Margaret "	Wife	45	"	
	Magnus "	Brother & co-tenant	45	"	
	Rebecca "	Wife	45	"	
	Magnus "	Son	20	"	
	Hugh "	Son	15	"	
	May "	Daughter	14	"	
	Peter "	Son	10	"	
	William "	Son	4	"	
	James Flett	Farm Servant	23	"	
	Margaret Hourston	Farm Servant	14	"	
Nesfoot	Thomas Hepburn	Farmer	35	"	U.P.
	Janet "	Wife	25	"	
	William "	Son	9	"	
	John "	Son	5	"	
	Thomas "	Son	3	"	
	James "	Son	6 months	"	
Hollandsgeo	Isabella Cooper	Farm Servant	20	"	U.P.
	James Hepburn	Farmer	40	"	
	Janet "	Wife	50	"	
	Barbara "	Daughter	15	"	
Meikle Sanquhar Meikle Sanquhar (cont.)	Robert Deerness	Farm Servant	12	"	C.of S. Shapinsay
	John Irvine	Farmer	45	"	
	Christian Irvine	Wife	45	"	
	John "	Son	20	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	15	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	15	"	
	James "	Son	11	"	
Little Sandgeo  'twa-beeld'	William "	Son	7	"	U.P.
	John Drummond	Farmer	55	"	
	Janet "	Wife	60	"	
	John "	Son	30	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	20	"	
	John Heddle	Fisherman	25	"	
	Margaret "	Wife	25	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	4	"	
	John "	Son	2	"	

Scarpigarth	Margaret Guthrie	Knitter	60	“	
	David “	Son & Fisherman	35	“	
	Thomas “	Son & Fisherman	30	“	
Mounthooley	David Scott	Farmer	35	“	C.of S.
	Margaret “	Wife	35	“	
	Margaret Heddle	Farm Servant	14	“	
Purtaquoy	Magnus Michael	Farmer	40	“	U.P.
	May “	Wife	45	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	20	“	
	Magnus “	Son	15	“	
	Thomas “	Son	15	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	11	“	
	Betsy “	Daughter	8	“	
Quoymoorhouse	Magnus Michael	Farmer	80	“	U.P.
	Margaret “	Wife	80	“	
	William “	Son	45	“	
	Elspeth “	Daughter-in-law	50	“	
	Thomas “	Grandson	15	“	
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	10	“	
	John Scott	Farmer	45	“	C.ofS.
‘twa-beeld’	Christian “	Wife	40	“	
	Catherine”	Daughter	13	“	
	John “	Son	10	“	
	William “	Son	9	“	
	James “	Son	6	“	
	David “	Son	2	“	
	John “	Father	75	“	
	Lucilla “	Sister	45	“	
Waterslap	Henry Nicolson	Carpenter	70	“	C.ofS.
	Ellen “	Wife	45	“	
	Ellen “	Daughter	10	“	
	Henry “	Son	5	“	
Nisthouse	James Liddle	Fisherman	25	“	
	Janet “	Sister	20	“	
Nisthouse (cont.)	Betsy “	Sister	20	“	
	Margaret Michael	Straw-plaiter	50	Shapinsay	
Tew	James Nicolson	Blacksmith	60	“	C.ofS
	Margaret “	Wife	50	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	30	“	
	Ellen “	Daughter	25	“	
	John “	Son	20	“	
	Betsy “	Daughter	15	“	
	William “	Son	15	“	
Staquoy	Magnus Irvine	Farmer	40	“	C.ofS
	Jean “	Wife	50	“	
	Thomas “	Son	15	“	
	Jean “	Daughter	14	“	
	Magnus “	Son	11	“	
Newhouse	Marion Work	Straw-plaiter	60	“	CofS.



	Barbara	“	Sister & Knitter	50	“	
Busgar	William Michael		Farmer	60	“	CofS.
	Christian	“	Wife	70	“	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	30	“	
	Thomas Work		Fisherman	35	“	
	Ellen	“	Wife	30	“	
	William	“	Son	12	“	
	John	“	Son	9	“	
	James	“	Son	8	“	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	6	“	
	Thomas	“	Son	2	“	
Hillhead	John Skea		Farmer	35	“	C.ofS
	David	“	Brother & Fisherman	25	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	8	“	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	6	“	
Housby	Margaret Flett		Knitter	65	“	CofS
	William	“	Son & Farmer	40	“	
	Jane	“	Daughter-in-law	45	“	
	Thomas	“	Son & Fisherman	25	“	
	Ellen	“	Granddaughter	15	“	
	William	“	Grandson	15	“	
	Janet	“	Granddaughter	10	“	
	Jane	“	Granddaughter	6	“	
Little Hannatof	James Flett		Fisherman	30	“	C.ofS
	Isabella	“	Wife	30	“	
Hannatof	John Work		Farmer	45	“	C.ofS
	Barbara	“	Wife	35	“	
	John	“	Son	11	“	
	James	“	Son	9	“	
	Janet	“	Daughter	4	“	
	Janet Sinclair		Mother-in-law	75	“	
	Jane	“	Daughter & Straw-pl.	30	“	
	James	“	Son & Fisherman	30	“	
Hannatof (cont.)	Magnus Work		Farmer	40	Shapinsay	
	Mary Work		Wife	30	“	
	John	“	Son	9	“	
	William	“	Son	6	“	
	Magnus	“	Son	5	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	3	“	
	Mary	“	Daughter	4 months	“	
	Ann Hepburn		Farm Servant	30	“	
	Robert Isbister		Farm Servant	15	“	
Cooperhall	John Drever		Farmer	60	“	C.ofS
	Janet	“	Sister	55	“	
	Thomas	“	Son	31	“	
	William	“	Son	20	“	
	Margaret Work		Farm Servant	20	“	
	John Bews		Farm Servant	12	“	
C. of S. Manse	John Barry		Minister	45	“	C.ofS
	Mary Stewart		Housekeeper	60	“	
	Marion Heddle		Farm Servant	40	“	

	Ann Spence	Farm Servant	25	"	
	Margaret Work	Farm Servant	25	"	
Brecks	John Smith	Farmer	50	"	C.ofS
	Ellen "	Wife	60	"	
	Thomas "	Son	25	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
	Frances "	Daughter	13	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	10	"	
U.P. Manse	James Brown	Minister	35	Methven	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	40	Shapinsay	
	Agnes "	Daughter	7	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	4	"	
	George "	Son	1	"	
	Eliza Heddle	Servant	30	"	
Ganderbreck	John Hepburn	Farmer	45	"	C.ofS
	Elizabeth "	Wife	35	"	
	James "	Son	15	"	
	Samuel "	Son	5	"	
	Ann "	Mother	65	"	
Upperstye	John Irvine	Farmer	60	"	C.ofS
	Marion "	Wife	65	"	
	William "	Son & Fisherman	25	"	
	Mary "	Daughter-in-law	20	"	
	Ida Drever	Sister-in-law	70	"	
	Janet Marwick	Farm Servant	20	"	
	Thomas Heddle	Farm Servant	10	"	
Netherstye	Magnus Irvine	Farmer	35	"	C.ofS
	Mary "	Wife	30	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	6	"	
	John "	Son	5	"	
	Margaret Russell	Grandmother	85	"	
Netherstye (cont.)	Christian Heddle	Aunt & Straw-plaiter	50	Shapinsay	
	James Heddle	Pensioner	60	"	
	Marion "	Wife	55	"	
	Mary Tulloch	Farm Servant	20	"	
	William Michael	Farm Servant	12	"	
Ostoft	John Skea	Farmer	55	"	C.ofS
	Cicilia "	Wife	55	"	
	Cicilia "	Daughter	20	"	
	William "	Son	14	"	
	Janet Sinclair	Farm Servant	15	"	
Lufaness	Peter Hepburn	Farmer	75	"	C.ofS
	Christian "	Wife	60	"	
	James "	Son	30	"	
	John "	Son	20	"	
	Mary	Daughter	20	"	
Elwickbank	Thomas Rendall	Fisherman	50	"	U.P.
	Thomas "	Son & Fisherman	25	"	
	John "	Son & Fisherman	20	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	15	"	

Elwick	George Bell	Farmer & Grocer	60	"	C.ofS
	Janet "	Wife	60	"	
	William "	Son & Farmer	30	"	U.P.
	Ann "	Daughter-in-law	30	"	
	Thomas "	Grandson	12	"	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	10	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter	9	"	
	William "	Grandson	5	"	
	Ann "	Granddaughter	4	"	
	Alexandrina	Granddaughter	1	"	
	Alexander Riddock	Assistant Minister	25		C.ofS
	Agnes Matheson	Farm Servant	40		
	Marion Hepburn	Farm Servant	20	Shapinsay	
	Thomas "	Brother & Farm Servant	12	"	
Breck Cottage	John Stevenson	Cottar	60	"	
	Marjory "	Granddaughter	8	"	
New Lights	John Heddle	Pensioner	70	"	
	Margaret "	Wife	50	"	
Damside	John Heddle	Fisherman	35	"	U.P.
	Elizabeth "	Wife	35	"	
	William "	Son	10	"	
	John "	Son	8	"	
	James "	Son	5	"	
	Thomas "	Son	2	"	
Millfield	James Stevenson	Carpenter	30	"	U.P.
	Barbara "	Wife	35	"	
	James "	Son	6	"	
	William "	Son	4	"	
	Thomas "	Son	2	"	
Ousquoy	William Heddle	Agricultural Labourer	85	Shapinsay	C.ofS
	William "	Grandson & Fisherman	25	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter & Str-pl.	25	"	
	Margaret "	Great-granddaughter	8	"	
	Maria "	Great-granddaughter	5	"	
	Thomas "	Great-grandson	3	"	
	Peter Farquharson	Schoolmaster	35		
	Mary Thomson	Farm Servant	20	Shapinsay	
	David Hepburn	Carpenter's Assistant	15	"	
Whitecleat	Peter Linnard	Carpenter's Assistant	15		
	John Shearer	Fisherman	45	"	C.ofS
	Margaret "	Sister	45	"	
	Janet "	Wife	30	"	
	John "	Son	14	"	
	James "	Son	10	"	
Kirkhill	William Hepburn	Farmer	40	"	C.ofS
	Jane "	Wife	55	"	
	Janet "	Neice & Straw-plaiter	30	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	20	"	
	Neil "	Son	15	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	13	"	

	Mary Guthrie	Straw-plaiter	30		
	Margaret Groat	Farm Servant	10		
Linton	James Hepburn	Farmer	40	"	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	30	"	
	James "	Father	70	"	
	James "	Son	5	"	
	Marion Sinclair	Farm Servant	15	"	
	William Heddle	Farm Servant	10	"	
Linton Cottage	William Hepburn	Fisherman	20	"	U.P.
	Esther "	Wife	20	"	
	Esther Liddle	Mother-in-law & Str. Pl,	45	"	
Feaston	Magnus Shearer	Farmer	25	"	U.P
	Christian "	Wife	20	"	
	James "	Son	2	"	
	Magnus "	Son 3 months		"	
	Margaret "	Grandmother & Spinner	75	"	
	Catherine "	Aunt & Straw-plaiter	40	"	
	Mary Wilson	Farm Servant	15		
	John Heddle	Farm Servant	8	"	
Furstigarth	James Meason	Farmer	35	"	U.P.
	Elizabeth "	Wife	30	"	
	James "	Son	10	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	7	"	
	William "	Son	2	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	1	"	
	Isabella "	Aunt & Spinner	65	"	
	Margaret "	Aunt & Straw-plaiter	70	"	
	Isabella "	Grand-neice	5	"	
Furstigarth (cont.)	Catherine Hepburn	Farm Servant	20	Shapinsay	
Greenataing	John Johns	Fisherman	35	"	
C.ofS	Barbara "	Wife	30	"	
	Ann "	Daughter	1	"	
Fristobrake	Elspeth Liddle	Pauper	60	"	
	John "	Son & Pauper	30	"	
Waterhouse	James Stevenson	Farmer	70	"	C.ofS
	Elspet "	Wife	50	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	15	"	
Heatherhouse	Elizabeth Heddle	Straw-plaiter	40	"	
	Margaret "	Sister & Straw-plaiter	30	"	
Greenataing Slap	Ann Stevenson	Spinner	65	"	
	Betsy Drummond	Straw-plaiter	45	"	
	Marion "	Straw-plaiter	40	"	
	Peter Cumming	Farm Servant	45		
Little Feaston	Peter Shearer	Fisherman	35	"	U.P.
	Jane "	Wife	25	"	
	James "	Son	7	"	
	William "	Son	5	"	



		Thomas Merriman	Farm Servant	75	"	
		Janet "	Mother & Straw-plaiter	55	"	
		Margaret "	Daughter & Straw-pl.	30	"	
		Mary "	Daughter & Straw-plaiter	25	"	
		Christian "	Daughter & Farm Servant	15	"	
		Jacob "	Son	13	"	
Fuag		Thomas Shearer	Fisherman	50	"	C.ofS
		Margaret "	Wife	55	"	
		Margaret "	Daughter	20	"	
		Isabella "	Daughter	15	"	
		John "	Son	14	"	
		James "	Son	11	"	
Easthouse		Janet Heddle	Straw-plaiter	40	"	
Gateside		James Sketheway	Fisherman	60	"	U.P.
		Margaret "	Sister	50	"	
		Margaret "	Daughter & Straw-pl.	30	"	
		James "	Son & Fisherman	25	"	
		Isabella "	Daughter & Straw-pl.	20	"	
		Elizabeth "	Daughter & Straw-pl.	15	"	
		Pitcairn Williamson	Pauper	80	"	
Newhouse		Catherine Sketheway	Straw-plaiter	65	"	U.P.
		Mary Work	Straw-plaiter	60	"	
Gairbows		Isabella Heddle	Spinner	40	"	U.P
		Isabella "	Daughter	7	"	
		Malcolm "	Son	3	"	
		Robert "	Son	1	"	
New Gorn	U.P	William Gullion	Weaver	60	Shapinsay	
		Margaret "	Wife	55	"	
		Margaret "	Daughter	14	"	
		Robert "	Son & Tailor's Appren.	15	"	
		Margaret Maxwell	Spinner	60	"	
		Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
		Peter "	Son & Carpenter's Assist.	20	"	
		James Michael	Fisherman	20	"	
Little Gorn		Sibylla Gullion	Straw-plaiter	40	"	U.P.
		Eliza Inkster	lodger	11	"	
		Frances "	lodger	7	"	
		George "	lodger	9	"	
Gorn		John Liddle	Farmer	65	"	U.P.
		Janet "	Wife	65	"	
		James "	Son	40	"	
		Ann "	Daughter-in-law	35	"	
		John "	Nephew & Farm Servant	20	"	
		James "	Grandson	8	"	
		Janet Michael	Farm Servant	15	"	
		Margaret "	Sister & Farm Servant	12	"	
		James Sketheway	Farm Servant	12	"	
		John "	Brother & Farm Servant	10	"	

Cleat	William Michael	Fisherman	25	"	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	25	"	
	Elizabeth "	Sister-in-law	13	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	6 months	"	
Cleat Cottage	Esther Nicolson	Spinner	60	"	
	Margaret Work	Straw-plaiter	20	"	
	Esther "	Sister & Straw-plaiter	15	"	
Dogtow	John Work	Fisherman	40	"	C.ofS
	Elizabeth "	Wife	35	"	
	William "	Son	14	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	11	"	
	Thomas "	Son	10	"	
	John "	Son	4	"	
	James "	Son	2	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	1 month	"	
Quoybanks	Magnus Williamson	Farmer	60	"	C.ofS
	Christian "	Wife	65	"	
	Alexander "	Son	20	"	
	Catherine Reid	Farm Servant	15	"	
Swartaquoy	James Work	Farmer	25	"	U.P.
	Catherine "	Wife	25	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	6	"	
	James "	Son	3	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	1	"	
	Margaret Wilson	Farm Servant	25		
	Margaret Connor	Farm Servant	12		
Skoenstoft	Thomas Mouat	Farmer	50	Shapinsay CofS	
	Isabella Mouat	Wife	40	"	
	Thomas "	Son	20	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	15	"	
	John "	Son	15	"	
	James "	Son	12	"	
	William "	Son	9	"	
	David "	Son	5	"	
	Margaret "	Niece & Farm Servant	25	"	
	John Chalmers	Father-in-law	80		
Girnigeo	James Drever	Farmer	55	"	C.of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	50	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	25	"	
	John "	Son	20	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	15	"	
	James "	Son	14	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	10	"	
	William "	Son	8	"	
Sandsend	Robert Sinclair	Fisherman	45	"	U.P.
	Mary Ann "	Wife	45	"	
	Peter "	Son & Fisherman	20	"	
	Robert "	Son & Fisherman	20	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	13	"	
	John "	Son	8	"	

	Jane	"	Daughter	6	"	
	William	"	Son	3	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	1	"	
Quholm	Magnus Irvine		Farmer	40	"	C.ofS.
	Margaret	"	Wife	50	"	
	Betsy	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	14	"	
	Elizabeth Heddle		Mother-in-law	85	"	
	James	"	Nephew & Farm Servant	12	"	
Brecks	James Work		Farmer	55	"	C.ofS.
	Janet	"	Wife	60	"	
	William	"	Son	35	"	
	Ellen	"	Daughter	25	"	
Poolend	William Nicolson		Farmer	40	"	U.P.
	Isabella	"	Wife	35	"	
	James	"	Son	8	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	6	"	
	Malcolm	"	Son	5	"	
	William	"	Son	4	"	
	Christopher	"	Son	1	"	
Lingro	John Drever		Farmer	60	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	60	"	
	Christian	"	Daughter	25	"	
	John	"	Son & Fisherman	25	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter-in-law	25	"	
	James	"	Son	20	"	
Lingro (cont.)	Margaret Drever		Daughter	15	Shapinsay	
	Margaret	"	Granddaughter	2		
	John	"	Grandson	5 months	"	
	John Michael		Farm Servant	10	"	
Veantro	James Irvine		Fisherman	45	"	C.ofS.
	Margaret	"	Wife	50	"	
	James	"	Son	15	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	9	"	
Caskald	James Heddle		Retired Farmer	85	"	C.ofS.
	Catherine	"	Wife	80	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	35	"	
	John	"	Son & Farmer	40	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter-in-law	35	"	
	Janet	"	Granddaughter	9	"	
	Margaret	"	Granddaughter	7	"	
Upper Bigging	Thomas Bews		Fisherman	51	"	C.ofS.
	Margaret	"	Mother	80	"	
	Christian	"	Sister	45	"	
Bigging	John Michael		Farmer	50	"	C.ofS.
	Marion	"	Wife	50	"	
	Janet	"	Daughter	25	"	
	Magnus	"	Son	20	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	20	"	
	David Kirkness		Farm Servant	12	"	

Ha'quoy	John Heddle	Farmer	40	"	C.ofS
	Catherine "	Wife	40	"	
	Isabella "	Sister	30	"	
	John "	Son	10	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	7	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	5	"	
Niers	Thomas Shearer	Fisherman	25	"	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	20	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	3	"	
	Eliza "	Daughter	1	"	
	Jane Johnston	Farm Servant	12	"	
Headgeo	William Drever	Farmer	55	"	C.ofS
	Jane "	Wife	50	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	20	"	
	John "	Son	20	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	15	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	13	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	10	"	
	William "	Son	7	"	
Diggings	James Work	Fisherman	35	"	C.ofS
	Janet "	Wife	40	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	10	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	7	"	
	James "	Son	4	"	
Diggings (cont.) Sholtaquoy	Magnus "	Son	1	"	C.ofS
	William Swanney	Retired Farmer	90	Shapinsay	
	John "	Son & Farmer	50	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter-in-law	50	"	
	Christian "	Sister	50	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter	25	"	
	William "	Grandson	15	"	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	14	"	
	Janet "	Granddaughter	12	"	
	Elizabeth "	Granddaughter	10	"	
Quoys	Robert Reid	Farmer	35	"	C.ofS
	Christian "	Wife	40	"	
	Christian "	Daughter	15	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	13	"	
	James "	Son	11	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	7	"	
	John "	Son	5	"	
	James Irvine	Brother-in-law	50	"	
Ness	John "	Nephew	30	"	U.P.
	James Reid	Farmer	40	"	
	Janet "	Wife	40	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	12	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	9	"	
	James "	Son	7	"	
	David "	Son	4	"	
	Frances "	Daughter	1	"	



	Margaret Hutchison	Spinner	70	"	
	Thomas Russell	Farm Servant	20	"	
	Barbara Peace	Farm Servant	15	"	
	James "	Farm Servant	11	"	
Vathersquoy	Malcolm Nicolson	Fisherman	30	"	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	25	"	
	James "	Son	3	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	1	"	
	Catherine Irvine	Farm Servant	15	"	
Nisthouse	James Shearer	Farmer	25	"	U.P.
	Ann "	Wife	30	"	
	James "	Son	7	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	6	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	5	"	
	William "	Son	3	"	
	John "	Son	1	"	
	Ann "	Daughter	1 month	"	
Inquiver	Magnus Work	Farmer	35	"	U.P.
	Jane "	Wife	30	"	
	Elizabeth "	Sister	30	"	
	James "	Son	7	"	
	Magnus "	Son	1	"	
	Thomas Irvine	Farm Servant	12	"	
Easthouse	James Heddle	Farmer	45	Shapinsay	C.ofS.
	Marion "	Wife	45	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	13	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	11	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	9	"	
	William Work	Fisherman	20	"	
Midhouse	James Bews	Retired Farmer	70	"	C.ofS.
	Thomas "	Farmer	30	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter-in-law	20	"	
	Isabella "	Granddaughter	2	"	
Society School	David Hepburn	Schoolteacher	25		C.ofS.
	Jane Grieve	Assistant Teacher	40	Leith	
	Jane "	Daughter	12	"	
	James "	Son	6		

Total Population 935 (includes 5 unidentified visitors)

# 1851

Hewan (50 acres)	James Russell	Farmer	64	"	U.P.
	Isabella "	Wife	60	Sanday	
	Magnus "	Son	25	Shapinsay	
	Samuel "	Son	18	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	26	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	21	"	
	James "	Grandson	2	"	
	Magnus Hutchison	Herd	13	"	

Fancy (50 acres)	Arthur Russell	Farmer & Wright	72	"	U.P.
	Janet "	Wife	58	North Ronaldsay	
	Alexander "	Son	27	Shapinsay	
	Isabella "	Daughter	23	"	
	Magnus "	Son	17	"	
Larodale (30 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	42	"	U.P.
	Esther "	Wife	41	"	
	James "	Son	17	"	
	Elisa "	Daughter	14	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	12	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	9	"	
	John "	Son	5	"	
	William "	Son	2	"	
	Barbara Nicolson	Mother-in-law	83	"	
Trattleton	Margaret Russell	Farm Servant	23	"	
	Mary "	Farm Servant	17	"	
Gaunthall	Margaret Cromarty	Pauper	60	South Ronaldsay	
	Ann Hepburn	Pauper	60	Shapinsay	
Parkhall Parkhall (cont.)	Magnus Swanney	Farmer	76	"	
	Margaret "	Wife	67	Shapinsay	
Laro (70 acres)	James Work	Farmer	39	"	U.P.
	Catherine "	Wife	38	Stronsay	
	Jean "	Daughter	16	Shapinsay	
	James "	Son	13	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	11	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	5	"	
	William "	Son	2	"	
Musabust (20 acres)	Magnus Bews	Farmer	66	"	C.ofS.
	William "	Son & Wright	40	"	
	Barbara "	Daughter	37	"	
	Jane "	Granddaughter	17	"	
	William "	Grandson	10	"	
Strathore (136 acres)	James Fullerton	Farmer	26	Arbroath	C.ofS.
	Isabella "	Wife	22	"	
	William Jolly	Farm Servant	25	Stonehaven	
	William Sabiston	Farm Servant	21	Stromness	
	Charlotte Carnegie	Farm Servant	20	Arbroath	
	Betsy Russell	Farm servant	19	Shapinsay	
Garth (40 acres)	Thomas Nicolson	Farmer	61	"	U.P.
	William "	Son	31	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter-in-law	27	"	
	James "	Son	25	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	25	"	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	4	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter	2	"	
	Betsy "	Granddaughter	2 months	"	
	Ann Work	Herd	13	"	
Runabout	William Russell	Farmer	52	"	U.P.

(60 acres)	Elizabeth	“	Wife	51	“	
	Catherine	“	Daughter	25	“	
	James	“	Son	17	“	
	Janet	“	Daughter	15	“	
	William	“	Son	9	“	
	Margaret Shearer		Sister-in-law	40	“	
Greenwall (20 acres)	Thomas Russell		Farmer	52	“	U.P.
	Margaret	“	Wife	50	“	
	Thomas	“	Son	25	“	
	Catherine	“	Daughter	10	“	
	Janet	“	Daughter	8	“	
Waltness (140 acres)	George Frisken		Farmer	66	Duns	C.ofS.
	Agnes	“	Wife	63	England	
	Adam	“	Son	24	Coldingham	
	Sarah	“	Daughter	16	Cockburnspath	
	William Mouat		Farm Servant	19	Shapinsay	
	William Sinclair		Farm Servant	13	“	
Gebro (17 acres) Gebro (cont.)	John Skea		Farmer	47	“	C.ofS.
	Isabella	“	Wife	40	Evie	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	19	Shapinsay	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	16	“	
	Isabella Skea		Daughter	4	Shapinsay	
	John	“	Son	1	“	
Rosecraigie (30 acres)	William Craigie		Farmer	50	Rousay	U.P
	Margaret	“	Wife	52	“	
	Thomas	“	Son	24	“	
	Catherine	“	Mother	60	“	
	Robert Stevenson		Farm Servant	15	Eday	
Stand Pretty	William Work		Retired Farmer	83	Shapinsay	U.P
	Marion	“	Wife	81	Rousay	
	Marion	“	Daughter & Farm Servant	35	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth	“	Daughter & Farm Servant	46	“	
Bught (15 acres)	George Sinclair		Farmer & Weaver	55	Sanday	C.ofS
	Betsy	“	Wife	50	Shapinsay	
	Marjory Skethaway		Pauper	71	“	
Cowes	William Work		Weaver	60	“	
	Margaret	“	Wife	58	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	18	“	
Barebraes	James Work		Retired Farmer	80	“	
	Elspeth	“	Wife	70	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	30	“	
	James Dunnet		Grandson	1	Kirkwall	
Mount Pleasant (25 acres)	Thomas Work		Farmer	45	Shapinsay	C.ofS
	Helen	“	Wife	45	“	
	James	“	Son	19	“	
	Betsy	“	Daughter	15	“	
	Thomas	“	Son	12	“	
	David	“	Son	9	“	
	Robert	“	Son	6	“	

Sethaquoy (20 acres)	William Nicolson	Farmer	67	"	C.ofS
	Ellen "	Wife	68	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	41	"	
	Edward "	Son	35	"	
	Magnus "	Son	28	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter	12	"	
Vequoy	Margaret Heddle	Straw-plaiter	52	"	Mey, Caithness Shapinsay
	Janet "	Sister & straw-plaiter	44	"	
	Sinclair Dunnet	Farm Servant	25		
	Mary "	Wife	26		
Cowbraes	John Stevenson	Retired Farmer	78	"	
	Marion "	Wife	60	"	
	Marjory "	Granddaughter	17	"	
Shuttlefield (30 acres)	James Liddle	Farmer	66	"	Eday
	Helen "	Wife	67	"	
	Jane Shearer	Farm servant	28		
Westhill (60 acres)	Alexander McKenzie	Farmer & Contractor	41		Lochinver F.C. Bower Shapinsay " " Bower " " St.Andrews
	Elizabeth "	Wife	27		
	David "	Son	3		
	Margaret "	Daughter	1		
	Marcus "	Son	3 months		
	Margaret Campbell	Sister-in-law	18		
	John "	Brother-in-law	15		
	Dinah "	Sister-in-law	8		
	James Heddle	Farm Servant	20		
Vasator (20 acres)	James Cooper	Farmer	59		Egilsay U.P. Shapinsay Egilsay Shapinsay "
	Jane "	Wife	54		
	Thomas "	Son	32		
	Catherine Work	Pauper	80		
	Mary Flett	visitor	7		
Furrowend (10 acres)	Thomas Laughton	Farmer	42	"	U.P.
	Catherine "	Wife	40	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	14	"	
	John "	Son	5	"	
	Peter "	Son	3	"	
	Isaac "	Son	1	"	
Agricola (30 acres)	Magnus Work	Farmer	54	"	C.ofS
	Betsy "	Wife	53	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	18	"	
	Christian "	Daughter	16	"	
	Thomas "	Son	10	"	
	Robert "	Son	6	"	
Whistlebare	John Craigie	Farm Labourer	28		Egilsay C.ofS Shapinsay Egilsay
	Margaret "	Wife	21		
	John "	Son	3		
Widewalls (18 acres)	James Work	Farmer	45		Shapinsay U.P. Fair Isle
	Helen "	Wife	45		



	Mary “	Sister	35	Shapinsay	
	James “	Son	19	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	16	“	
	John “	Son	11	“	
	Frances “	Daughter	9	“	
	Margaret”	Daughter	7	“	
	Magnus “	Son	5	“	
	Thomas “	Son	3	“	
	Margaret “	Mother	71	“	
Burnside (9 acres)	John Scott	Farmer & Miller	65	“	C.ofS
	Elizabeth “	Wife	64	“	
	William “	Son & Fisherman	35	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter-in-law	28	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	25	“	
	John “	Grandson	8	Edinburgh	
	William “	Grandson	2	Shapinsay	
	Charles Heddle	Herd	8	“	
Snesquoy	William Heddle	Farm Labourer	50	Shapinsay	
	Christian “	Wife	43	Kirkwall	
	Elisa “	Daughter	18	Shapinsay	
	Mary “	Daughter	14	“	
	Thomas “	Son	6	“	
	Helen “	Daughter	4	“	
	Barbara “	Daughter	1	“	
	Helen Drever	Mother-in-law	77	Sanday	
Balfour Village	William Russell	Boat-builder	50	Shapinsay	U.P
	Esther “	Wife	27	“	
	James “	Father	82	“	
	Mary Liddle	Domestic Servant	40	“	
	Margaret Work	Domestic Servant	32	“	
	John Peace	Boat-builder	26	“	
	Marion Sinclair	Farm Labourer	25	“	
	Thomas Laughton	Farm Servant	20	“	
	William “	Farm Servant	16	“	
	Thomas Irvine	Mason	39	“	
	Mary “	Wife	39	Kirkwall	
	Mary “	Daughter	16	Shapinsay	
	Margaret Stevenson	Sister-in-law	28	Kirkwall	
	John Tinch	Cabinet-maker	23	Stromness	U.P.
	Mary “	Wife	22	Shapinsay	
	Helen “	Daughter	6 months	“	
	Margaret Work	Mother-in-law	50	St.Andrews	
	Catherine “	Sister-in-law	5	Shapinsay	
	Robert Sketheway	General Merchant	50	“	U.P
	Robert “	Son & Assistant	15	“	
	Robert Sinclair	Quarryman	36	“	
	Esther “	Wife	40	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	3	“	
	James “	Son	1	“	

Balfour Village (cont.)	John Bews	Contractor	39	"	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	40	"	
	Elisa "	Daughter	15	"	
	William "	Son	10	"	
	John "	Son	7	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	3	"	
	James "	Son	1	"	
	James Russell	Farm Servant	32	"	U.P.
	Ann "	Wife	26	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	1	"	
	Henry Russell	Quarryman	25	"	C.ofS.
	Margaret "	Wife	26	Eday	
	Margaret "	Daughter	4	Shapinsay	
	John "	Son	1	"	
	Mary Begg	Sister-in-law	12	Shapinsay	
	Thomas Nicolson	Farm Labourer	39	"	U.P.
	Janet "	Wife	29	Holm	
	Janet "	Daughter	6	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	4	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	1	Shapinsay	
(10 acres at back)	James McRobbie	Joiner	50	Monnimail C.ofS	
	Margaret "	Wife	50	St.Andrews,Fife	
	Margaret "	Daughter	23	"	
	James "	Son	12	"	
	William Donaldson	Blacksmith & Farmer	33	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	34	"	
	William "	Son	10	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	7	"	
	James "	Son	3	"	
	Thomas "	Son	1	"	
	Helen "	Mother	56	"	
	James "	Brother	23	"	
	James Work	Assistant Blacksmith	21	"	
	Margaret Liddle	General merchant	30	"	
	John "	Son	6	"	
	William Drever	Mason	35	"	U.P.
	Janet "	Wife	31	"	
	James "	Son	10	"	
	William "	Son	8	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	6	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	3	"	
	Thomas Hutchison	Quarryman	45	"	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	40	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	18	"	
	Thomas "	Son	16	"	
	James "	Son	10	"	
	William "	Son	6	"	
	Margaret Heddle	Straw-plaiter	53	"	
	Marion Reid	Washerwoman	39	"	

Balfour Village (cont.)

George	"	Son	13	"	
David	"	Son	10	"	
James	"	Son	6	"	
Eleanor	"	Daughter	4	"	
James Irvine		Mason	44	"	U.P.
Mary	"	Wife	40	"	
William	"	Son	6	"	
John	"	Father	70	"	
Thomas Smith		Retired Seaman	69	Westray	U.P
Margaret	"	Daughter-in-law	27	Shapinsay	
James	"	Grandson	4	"	
Thomas	"	Grandson	1	"	
Margaret Work		Domestic Servant	64	"	
Ann Bell		visitor	12	"	
Robert Stevenson		Farm Labourer	35	Kirkwall	
Margaret	"	Wife	37	St.Andrews	
Thomas	"	Son	12	Shapinsay	
John	"	Son	10	"	
Margaret	"	Daughter	7	"	
William	"	Son	4	"	
Robert	"	Son	1	"	
James Liddle		Quarryman	50	"	U.P
James	"	Son & Cabinet-maker	18	"	
Coventry Russell		Sister-in-law & Dressmk.	32	"	
Margaret	"	Sister-in-law & Dressmk.	30	"	
Magnus Williamson		General Merchant	37	"	U.P.
Jessie	"	Wife	29	"	
Elizabeth	"	Daughter	6	"	
Jessie	"	Daughter	4	"	
James	"	Son	1	"	
Margaret Reid		Domestic Servant	16	"	
William Laughton		Tailor	53	Kirkwall	U.P.
Mary	"	Wife	55	"	
Elizabeth	"	Daughter	15	Shapinsay	
Elizabeth Peace		Mother-in-law	80	North Ronaldsay	
Andrew Drummond		Fisherman	59	Shapinsay	
Christian	"	Wife	44	"	
Jane Nicolson		Farm Labourer	56	"	
Margaret	"	Sister & Pauper	54	"	
John Peace		Cabinet-maker	39	"	U.P.
Barbara	"	Wife	37	"	
Margaret	"	Daughter	16	Kirkwall	
Elizabeth	"	Duaghter	12	"	
John	"	Son	9	"	
William	"	Son	6	"	
Thomas	"	Son	2	Shapinsay	
Thomas Rendall		Farm Labourer	59	"	
Helen	"	Wife	60	St.Andrews	

	Eliza Clark	Midwife	38	Kirkwall	C.of S.
	Helen “	Daughter	14	“	
	James “	Son	10	“	
	Ann “	Daughter	8	“	
	Isabella”	Daughter	3	“	
	William Heddle	Contractor	36	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Mary “	Wife	29	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	7	“	
	William “	Son	5	“	
	Jane “	Daughter	1	“	
	Isabella Brodie	Straw-plaiter	50	Stronsay	
Balfour Village (cont.)	John Drever	Mason	31	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Janet “	Wife	32	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	8	“	
	John “	Son	3	“	
	James “	Son	1	“	
	John Liddle	Farm Labourer	28	“	
	Catherine “	Wife	30	“	
	James “	Son	5	“	
	William “	Son	3	“	
	Ann “	Daughter	1	“	
	John Hume	Seaman	23	“	
Balfour Castle	David Balfour	Proprietor	39	“	Episcop.
	Eleanor “	Wife	40	Eyemouth	
	Margaret Main	Housekeeper	39	England	
Garden Lodge	Alexander Robertson	Butler	33	Dalmeny	C.of S.
	Elisa “	Wife	35	Hawick	
	Thomas “	Son	8	Edinburgh	
	Janet “	Daughter	6	“	
	William “	Son	2	Shapinsay	
Gate House	William Tait	Gardener	50	Dunnet	C.of S.
	Duchima “	Wife	49	Farr	
	William “	Son & Gardener	18	Kirkwall	
Sound	George Frisken	Grieve	40	Duns	U.P.
	Isabella “	Wife & Dairymaid	34	Chirnside	
	George “	Son	13	“	
	Grace “	Daughter	11	Bower	
	Isabella “	Daughter	9	“	
	Alexander “	Son	7	“	
	Agnes “	Daughter	5	Shapinsay	
	Eleanor “	Daughter	3	“	
	Catherine “	Daughter	1	“	
	William Shearer	Farm Labourer	40	“	
	Betsy “	Wife	37	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	14	“	
	Magnus Work	Farm Servant	31	“	
	John “	Son & Farm Servant	10	“	
	William Horn	Farm Servant	25	Canisbay	



	Margaret Sinclair	Farm Servant	20	Stronsay	
	John Coghill	Herd	16	Thurso	
Guest Lodge	George Leslie	Gardener	62	Westray	
	Jane “	Wife	64	Egilsay	
	Ann Work	Farm Labourer	61	Shapinsay	
	Alexander Craigie	Farm Labourer	35	Egilsay	
Dogspaw	Ann Heddle	Pauper	63	Shapinsay	
Grasquoy (12 acres)	William Swanney	Farmer	72	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Janet “	Daughter	35	“	
	James Sinclair	Grandson	9	“	
	Barbara Work	Pauper	62	“	
	David “	Pauper	47	“	
Howe (57 acres)	Magnus Craigie	Farmer	58	Egilsay	U.P
	Rebecca “	Wife	56	“	
	Hugh “	Son	29	“	
	Marjory “	Daughter	25	“	
	Peter “	Son	21	Shapinsay	
	William “	Son	19	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	23	Egilsay	
	Mary “	Granddaughter	3	Shapinsay	
	William “	Retired Seaman	66	Egilsay	
	Margaret Hourston	Sister-in-law	55	“	
Cotbrae (17 acres)	Thomas Shearer	Farmer	49	Shapinsay	
	Jane “	Wife	39	“	
	William “	Son	23	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	21	“	
	James “	Son	16	“	
	Robert Reid	Herd	9	Kirkwall	
Little Sanger (10 acres)	John Drummond	Farmer	40	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Helen “	Wife	30	“	
	John “	Father & Retired Farmer	64	“	
	Janet “	Mother	71	“	
	Marion Irvine	Mother-in-law	71	“	
	Barbara Work	Farm Labourer	60	“	
	Janet Hutchison	Herd	11	“	
Sanger (20 acres)	John Irvine	Farmer	59	“	U.P.
	Christian “	Wife	57	“	
	John “	Son	30	“	
	James “	Son	20	“	
	William “	Son	17	“	
	Barbara Sutherland	Farm Servant	15	Bower	
	Catherine “	Sister & Herd	12	“	
Scarpigarth (5 acres)	Thomas Guthrie	Farmer	35	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Mary “	Wife	30	“	
	David “	Son	5	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	4	“	
	William “	Son	1	“	
	Margaret “	Mother	73	“	

Mounthooley (15 acres)	David Laughton	Farmer	33	"	U.P.
	Betsy "	Wife	34	"	
	David "	Son	7	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	4	"	
	Jessie "	Daughter	1	"	
	John "	Father	68	"	
	David Scott	Farm Labourer	46	"	
	Jane Work	Farm Servant	17	"	
Purtaquoy (15 acres)	Magnus Michael	Farmer	56	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	May "	Wife	55	"	
	Magnus "	Son	27	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	21	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	17	"	
Quoymoorhouse (64 acres)  'twa-beeld'	William Michael	Farmer	56	"	C.of S.
	Elsbeth "	Sister	63	"	
	John Scott	Farmer	55	"	
	Cicilia "	Sister	58	"	
	Christian "	Wife	50	"	
	Catherine "	Daughter	23	"	
	John "	Son	21	"	
	William "	Son	19	"	
	James "	Son	16	"	
	David "	Son	12	"	
	Thomas "	Son	7	"	
	Thomas Irvine	Farm Servant	24	"	
	Jane Hutchison	Herd	14	Kirkwall	
Tew (15 acres)	James Nicolson	Blacksmith	65	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Wife	60	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter & Farm Lab.	40	"	
	John "	Son & Blacksmith	32	"	
	Janet "	Daughter-in-law	27	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter & Farm Lab.	27	"	
	William "	Son & Fisherman	27	"	
	John Jones	Herd	8	"	
Waterslap	Henry Nicolson	Farm Labourer	84	"	
	Helen "	Wife	55	Wick	
	Henry "	Son & Farm Labourer	15	Shapinsay	
	Robert Isbister	Grandson	3	Kirkwall	
Nisthouse (5 acres)	James Liddle	Farmer	35	Shapinsay	
	Janet "	Sister	30	"	
	Margaret "	Mother	64	"	
Staquoy (30 acres)	Magnus Irvine	Farmer	50	"	
	Jane "	Wife	50	Sanday	
	Jane "	Daughter	23	Shapinsay	
	Magnus "	Son & Seaman	20	"	
	Malcolm Heddle	Farm Servant	13	"	
	John "	Brother & Herd	9	"	
Busgar (12 acres)	William Michael	Farmer & Shoemaker	73	"	
	Christian "	Wife	82	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	40	"	

Hillhead	Marion Heddle	Pauper	63	"	
	Christine Russell	Pauper	62	"	
	Mary Irvine	Granddaughter	16	"	
Houseby (7.5 acres)	William Flett	Farmer	51	"	
	Jane "	Wife	54	"	
	Thomas "	Brother & Farm Labourer	37	"	
Houseby (cont.)	James Flett	Son & Seaman	22	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Daughter-in-law	22	Orphir	
	Janet "	Daughter	19	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Mother	78	"	
Little Hannatof (5 acres)	James Flett	Farmer	41	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	16	"	
	Barbara Smith	Farm Servant	28	Rousay	
Hannatof (60 acres)	Magnus Work	Farmer	50	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Marion "	Wife	39	"	
	John "	Son	18	"	
	William "	Son	16	"	
	Magnus "	Son	14	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	12	Orphir	
	Mary "	Daughter	10	Shapinsay	
	James "	Son	8	"	
	Robert "	Son	6	"	
	Peter "	Son	3	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	7 months	"	
	Jane Hepburn	Farm Servant	43	"	
	William Sutherland	Farm Labourer	40	Bower	
	William Phimster	Farm Servant	36	Wick	
Church of Scotland Manse	Christian "	Wife	26	"	
	Helen Cormack	Niece	10	"	
	Thomas Scott	Minister	40	Methven	C.of S.
	Sarah "	Sister	29	Perth	
	Elizabeth "	Mother	70	"	
	Helen Nicolson	Domestic Servant	19	Wick	
	Betty Russell	Farm Servant	17	Shapinsay	
Glebe (53 acres)	Margaret Laughton	Farm Servant	10	"	
	Donald Coghill	Grieve	39	Thurso	C.of S.
	Isabella "	Wife	38	Canisbay	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	15	Thurso	
	William "	Son	11	Sanday	
	Thomas "	Son	4	Shapinsay	
Brecks (10 acres)	John Smith	Farmer	60	Westray	C.of S.
	Helen "	Wife	60	Shapinsay	
	Thomas "	Son & Mason	38	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	20	"	
	James Barron	Mason	65	Forres	
	Frances "	Daughter	22	Shapinsay	
	Helen "	Granddaughter	1	"	
U.P. Manse	James Brown	Minister	48	Methven	U.P.
	Jane "	Daughter	14	Shapinsay	
	George "	Son	12	"	

	Elisa Heddle	Housekeeper	39	"	
Schoolhouse	George Hepburn	Schoolmaster	31	"	C. of S.
	Isabella "	Wife	27	Eday	
	Isabella "	Daughter	4	"	
	George "	Son	2	Shapinsay	
Schoolhouse (cont.)	Jane Harcus	Domestic Servant	20	Eday	
Ganderbrake	John Hepburn	Fisherman	55	Shapinsay	C.ofS.
	Betsy "	Wife	38	"	
	Janet "	Sister & Farm Servant	33	"	
	Samuel "	Son & Farm Labourer	18	"	
	James Irvine	Grandson	5	Kirkwall	
Upperstye	William Irvine	Carpenter	36	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Mary "	Wife	36	"	
	John "	Son	9	"	
	Christian "	Daughter	7	"	
	William "	Son	5	"	
	David "	Son	2	"	
Netherstye (60 acres)	Peter Campbell	Farm Manager	23	Wick	Free Church
	Isabella Work	Domestic Servant	28	"	
	William Heddle	Farm Servant	21	Shapinsay	
Ostoft (12 acres)	John Skea	Farmer	66	"	C.of S.
	Cecilia "	Wife	67	"	
	David "	Son & Quarryman	37	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter-in-law	42	"	
	Cecilia "	Daughter	30	"	
	William "	Son	24	"	
	Isabella "	Granddaughter	6	"	
	David "	Grandson	1 month	"	
New Lights	John Heddle	Pensioner	80	Sanday	
	Margaret "	Wife	79	Shapinsay	
Lufaness (20 acres)	Peter Hepburn	Farmer	80	"	C.of S.
	Christian "	Wife	75	"	
	James "	Son	40	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	30	"	
	John "	Son	30	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter-in-law	25	Orphir	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	1	Shapinsay	
Elwickbank (15 acres)	Magnus Hepburn	Ground Officer	76	"	C.of S.
	Jane "	Wife	73	Eday	
	Ann Rich	Domestic Servant	26	Deerness	
	Jane Grieve	Granddaughter & Schoolm	22	Leith	
	James "	Grandson	16	"	
Elwick (95 acres)	Thomas Hepburn	Farmer & Merchant	50	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Mary "	Wife	45	Kirkwall	
	Mary "	Daughter	22	"	
	Thomas Shearer	Retired Farmer	74	Stronsay	
	Helen "	Daughter	53	"	
	Barbara "	Granddaughter	18	"	
	Thomas Rendall	Farm Labourer	61	Westray	



Elwick (cont.)	Betsy	"	Wife	60	Sanday	
	John	"	Son & Farm Labourer	32	Shapinsay	
	Eliza	"	Daughter & Farm Servant	28	"	
	Margaret	"	Niece	8	Westray	
	James Stevenson		Farm Servant	22	Stronsay	
	David Laughton		Farm Servant	12	Shapinsay	
Mosside (26 acres)	John Work		Farmer	58	Kirkwall	U.P.
	Barbara	"	Wife	48	"	
	John	"	Son	21	Shapinsay	
	James	"	Son	19	"	
	Janet	"	Daughter	13	"	
	Robert Heddle		Herd	11	"	
Haroldswick (50 acres)	Magnus Craigie		Farmer	29	Egilsay	U.P.
	Barbara	"	Wife	28	Shapinsay	
	James	"	Son	6	"	
	Magnus	"	Son	4	"	
	Peter	"	Son	8 months	"	
	James Hepburn		Farmer	50	"	
	Janet	"	Wife	60	"	
	Marion	"	Daughter	30	England	
	William Laughton		Herd	17	Shapinsay	
Ousquoy	Thomas Seater		Tailor	65	Westray	
	James	"	Son & Assistant	30	"	
	Ann	"	Daughter & Seamstress	22	"	
	George Logie		visitor	34	"	
Damside	James Hutchison		Farm Labourer	52	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Marion	"	Wife	47	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	19	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Janet	"	Daughter	7	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	5	"	
Millfield	William Harcus		Shoemaker	55	Rousay	C. of S.
	Isabella	"	Wife	51	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	27	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	25	"	
	David	"	Son	13	"	
	Ann	"	Daughter	11	"	
	Alexander	"	Son	7	"	
	William Heddle		Retired Farmer	98	Shapinsay	
Mounthooley (15 acres)	Peter Bews		Farmer	48	"	C. of S.
	Mary	"	Wife	53	Evie	
	Mary	"	Daughter	26	Shapinsay	
	William	"	Son	23	"	
	John	"	Son	21	"	
	James	"	Son	18	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Christian	"	Daughter	7	"	
Northhill (10 acres)	William Hepburn		Farmer	30	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	26	"	
	Christian	"	Daughter	3	"	

	Jane	"	Wife	35	Westray	
	William	"	Son	14	Shapinsay	
	Thomas	"	Son	8	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	4	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Mother	65	"	
	Elizabeth Cumming		Spinster	57	"	
Waterhouse	Elizabeth Stevenson		Straw-plaiter	64	"	U.P.
	Mary	"	Daughter & Straw-plaiter	24	"	
Heatherhouse	Elizabeth Heddle		Straw-plaiter	51	"	
	Margaret	"	Sister & Straw-plaiter	49	"	
Niers	Thomas Shearer		Fisherman	36	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	35	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	12	"	
	John	"	Son	7	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	4	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	2	"	
	Marion Drummond		Pauper	50	"	
Fristobrake	Peter Shearer		Fisherman	47	"	U.P.
	Janet	"	Wife	32	Evie	
	James	"	Son & Fisherman	17	Shapinsay	
	David	"	Son	9	"	
Little Feaston	William Work		Fisherman	34	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	32	Evie	
	Mary	"	Daughter	8	Shapinsay	
	William	"	Son	4	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	3 months	"	
	Janet Merriman		Mother-in-law	70	Evie	
Fuag (20 acres)	Thomas Shearer		Farmer	60	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	62	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	26	"	
	John	"	Son	25	"	
	James	"	Son	21	"	
Gateside	William Michael		Fisherman	36	"	U.P.
	Mary	"	Wife	36	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	10	"	
	William	"	Son	8	"	
	James	"	Son	6	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	4	"	
	Pitcairn	"	Mother	86	"	
	Catherine Sketheway		Spinner	79	"	
	Mary Work		Sister & Straw-plaiter	56	Egilsay	
Easthouse (18 acres)	James Heddle		Farmer	55	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Marion	"	Wife	59	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	21	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	19	"	
	Janet	"	Sister & Knitter	54	"	
Hilltown (12 acres)	James Shearer		Farmer	50	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Frances	"	Wife	38	St.Andrews	
	Janet	"	Daughter	12	Shapinsay	
	Christina	"	Daughter	9	"	

	Mary	"	Daughter	7	"	
	Frances	"	Daughter	3	"	
	James	"	Son	1	"	
New Gorn	William Gullion		Weaver	69	Westray	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	68	Orphir	
	Jane	"	Daughter	32	Shapinsay	
	Margaret Fidor		Widow	22	"	
	Peter	"	Son	1	"	
Little Gorn	Isabella Inkster		Straw-plaiter	57	St.Andrews	U.P.
	Peter Maxwell		Carpenter	31	Stronsay	
	Margaret	"	Wife	40	Sanday	
	Peter	"	Son	5	Shapinsay	
	James	"	Son	1	"	
Gorn (106 acres)	James Reid		Farmer	52	"	U.P.
	Janet	"	Wife	53	"	
	Janet	"	Daughter	22	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	19	"	
	James	"	Son	17	"	
	David	"	Son	14	"	
	Frances	"	Daughter	11	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	6	"	
	John Liddle		Father-in-law	79	"	
	Janet	"	Mother-in-law	78	"	
	James Hutchison		Farm Servant	22	"	
	James Shearer		Farm Servant	17	"	
	Margaret	"	Sister & Farm Servant	15	"	
	James Heddle		Mason's Apprentice	14	"	
	William Bichan		Herd	13	Kirkwall	
Garbows	Margaret Reid		Spinner	82	Shapinsay	
Canada	James Sketheway		Farm Labourer	73	"	U.P.
	Margaret	"	Wife	66	Egilsay	
	Peter	"	Grandson	5	Shapinsay	
	James	"	Grandson	1	"	
Cleat (30 acres)	Malcolm Nicolson		Farmer	43	"	C.of S.
	James	"	Son	13	"	
	Ann	"	Daughter	6	"	
	Malcolm	"	Son	6	"	
	William	"	Son	6	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	11	"	
	Margaret Heddle		Stocking Knitter	83	"	
	Esther Work		Spinner	70	"	
	Isabella Shearer		Domestic Servant	68	Stronsay	
Dogtow	John Work		Fisherman & Carpenter	53	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	45	"	
	William	"	Son & Fisherman	24	"	
Dogtow (cont.)	John Work		Son	14	Shapinsay	
	James	"	Son	12	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	9	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	7	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	4	"	

Quoybanks (11 acres)	Magnus Shearer	Farmer	49	"	U.P.
	Elizabeth "	Wife	32	"	
	Thomas "	Son	9	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	3	"	
Swartaquoy (30 acres)	William Groat	Farmer	44	Westray	U.P.
	Jane "	Wife	44	Shapinsay	
	Ann "	Daughter	18	"	
	Thomas "	Son	16	"	
	William "	Son	13	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	9	"	
	James "	Son	6	"	
	Elisa "	Daughter	2	"	
Skoenstoft (30 acres)	Thomas Mouat	Farmer	63	Rousay	C.of S.
	Isabella "	Wife	55	Stronsay	
	Thomas "	Son & Fisherman	31	"	
	Christina "	Daughter-in-law	28	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	27	"	
	John "	Son	25	"	
	James "	Son	22	"	
	Thomas "	Grandson	2	"	
Girnigeo (30 acres)	Elizabeth Sinclair	Farm Servant	21	Stronsay	C.of S.
	James Drever	Farmer	66	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Wife	60	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	35	"	
	John "	Son	30	"	
	William "	Son	17	"	
	John Shearer	Farm Servant	11	"	
Sandsend	Robert Sinclair	Fisherman	59	Stronsay	C.of s.
	Marion "	Wife	56	Shapinsay	
	John "	Son	18	Stronsay	
	Mary "	Daughter	11	Shapinsay	
Newhouse (10 acres)	Magnus Hutchison	Farmer	55	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Barbara "	Wife	39	Fair Isle	
	Elizabeth "	Sister	47	Shapinsay	
	Barbara Work	Niece	12	"	
Veantraw (15 acres)	James Irvine	Farmer	57	"	C.of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	62	"	
	James "	Son	25	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	19	"	
Quholm (30 acres)	Magnus Irvine	Farmer	52	"	
	Margaret "	Wife	60	"	
	James Reid	Farm Servant	21	Westray	
	Peter Comer	Farm Servant	11	Stromness	
Brecks (30 acres)	James Work	Farmer	69	Shapinsay	C. of S.
	Elizabeth "	Wife	62	"	
	Ellen "	Daughter	39	"	
	William "	Son	36	"	
	James "	Grandson	14	"	
	Margaret Reid	Domestic Servant	11	"	



Lingro (30 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	37	"	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	39	"	
	James "	Brother & Mason	37	"	
	Christina "	Sister	35	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	12	"	
	John "	Son	10	"	
	James "	Son	7	"	
	William "	Son	3	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	1	"	
	John "	Father & Retired Farmer	71	"	
	Margaret "	Mother	71	"	
Caskald (30 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	49	"	C.of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	44	"	
	Margaret "	Sister & Dairymaid	46	"	
	Janet "	Niece & Semstress	18	"	
	Thomas Stevenson	Farm Labourer	14	"	
New Bigging (8 acres)	Thomas Bews	Farmer	53	"	C.of S.
	Mary "	Wife	37	"	
Bigging (40 acres)	John Michael	Farmer	62	"	C.of S.
	Marion "	Wife	66	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	37	"	
	Magnus	Son	35	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	33	"	
	Janet "	Daughter-in-law	22	"	
	Elsie "	Granddaughter	3	"	
	James Seatter	Farm Servant	14	Egilsay	
Ha'quoy (80 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	54	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Catherine "	Wife	51	"	
	John "	Son	21	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	19	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	16	"	
	Thomas Seatter	Farm Servant	12	Kirkwall	
Headgeo (10 acres)	William Drever	Farmer	68	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Jean "	Wife	63	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	32	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	25	"	
	William "	Son	17	"	
Diggings	James Work	Fisherman	48	"	U.P.
	Janet "	Wife	50	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	20	"	
	Magnus "	Son	11	"	
	William "	Son	6	"	
Sholtoquoy (37 acres)	John Swanney	Farmer	63	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	63	"	
	William "	Son	37	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	25	"	
	Betsy "	Daughter	21	"	
	William Nicolson	Farm Servant	12	"	
Quoys (30 acres)	Robert Reid	Farmer	48	"	U.P.
	Christina "	Wife	52	"	

	Christina	"	Daughter & Seamstress	28	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	23	"	
	James	"	Son	21	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	18	"	
	John	"	Son	15	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	8	"	
	James Irvine		Farm Labourer	63	"	
	John	"	Farm Labourer	43	"	
Ness (60 acres)	John Dennison		Farmer	60	Sanday	C.of S.
	Margaret	"	Daughter	29	Shapinsay	
	William	"	Son	25	"	
	Christina	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	20	"	
	George Barry		Schoolteacher	55	"	
	Marion Hutchison		Domestic Servant	26	"	
	Margaret Heddle		Domestic Servant	18	"	
	Thomas Meason		Farm Servant	16	"	
	William Work		Farm Servant	14	"	
Vathersquoy (30 acres)	William Nicolson		Farmer	50	"	U.P.
	Isabella	"	Wife	48	Rendall	
	James	"	Son & Blacksmith	18	Shapinsay	
	Mary	"	Daughter	16	"	
	Malcolm	"	Son	14	"	
	Christopher	"	Son	10	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	7	"	
	John	"	Son	4	"	
Inquiver (30 acres)	Magnus Work		Farmer	45	"	C.of S.
	Jane	"	Wife	42	"	
	James	"	Son	17	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	4	"	
	Robert	"	Son	2	"	
	Mary	"	Niece	17	"	
	Jane	"	Niece	8	"	
Midhouse (20 acres)	Thomas Bews		Farmer	47	"	C.of s.
	Margaret	"	Wife	32	"	
	Isabella	"	Daughter	12	"	
	James	"	Son	8	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	1	"	
	James	"	Father & Retired Farmer	83	"	
	Catherine	"	Mother	79	"	
Nisthouse (16 acres)	James Shearer		Farmer	38	"	U.P.
	Ann	"	Wife	40	Orphir	
	Mary	"	Daughter	15	Shapinsay	
Nisthouse (cont.)	William Shearer		Son	13	Shapinsay	
	Ann	"	Daughter	11	"	
	David	"	Son	8	"	
	Peter	"	Son	6	"	
	Robert	"	Son	3	"	
Society School	David Hepburn		Schoolmaster	36	"	C.of S.
	Mary	"	Wife	31	"	
	David	"	Son	8	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	3	"	
	John	"	Son	1	"	

Mary Heddle	Domestic Servant	22	"
-------------	------------------	----	---

Total Population 898 (includes 1 'visitor')

1861

Hewan (95 acres)	Samuel Russell	Farmer	28	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Jane "	Wife	28	Rousay	
	Samuel "	Son	2	Shapinsay	
	James "	Son	7 months	"	
	James "	Father & Retired Farmer	75	"	
	Isabella "	Mother	76	Sanday	
	James Drever	Brother-in-law & Shoemk.	27	Shapinsay	
	Isabella "	Sister	31	"	
	Isabella "	Niece	2	"	
	James "	Nephew	7 months	"	
	William Heddle	Ploughman	15	"	
Balaclava (80 acres)	Sarah Inkster	Domestic Servant	10	Eynhallow	
	William Russell	Farmer	55	Shapinsay	
	Esther "	Wife	35	"	
	Mary Ann "	Daughter	9	"	
	Esther Work	Mother-in-law	80	"	
	Margaret "	Sister-in-law & Dairymd.	40	"	
	Margaret Peace	Domestic Servant	33	"	
	William Harcus	Ploughman	15	"	
	Janet Woodrow	Niece	1	Kirkwall	
New Lights	Margaret Heddle	Pensioner	80	Shapinsay	
Housequoy	James Nicolson	Hind	29	"	U.P.
	Rebecca "	Wife	24	"	
	James "	Son	6 months	"	
Elwickbank (200 acres)	Marcus Calder	Factor & Farmer	43	Scotsclader	C.of S.
	Margaret Scott	Housekeeper	41	Keiss	
	Jane "	Daughter & Domestic S.	14	"	
	James Work	Boatman	28	Shapinsay	
	Helen "	Wife	31	"	
Elwick (40 acres) Elwick (cont.)	David Laughton	Farmer & Miller	43	"	
	Elisabeth "	Wife	44	"	
	David Laughton	Son & Cabinet-maker	17	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Daughter	14	"	
	Jessie "	Daughter	11	"	
	Malcolm Nicolson	Mason	53	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	21	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	19	"	
	William "	Son	11	"	
	Alexander Forbes	Chelsea Pensioner	40	Latheron	
	Isabella "	Daughter	5	Shapinsay	
	James "	Son	3	"	
	Janet Liddle	Lodger	48	"	
	James Bews	Ploughman	19	"	

Burnside	Jack Smith	Grocer	66	Westray	
	Jane “	Wife	60	Shapinsay	
	Jane Jones	Granddaughter	11	Glasgow	
	William “	Grandson	9	“	
	Isaac “	Grandson	7	“	
Balfour Village	Magnus Williamson	General Merchant	47	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Jessie “	Wife	39	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	16	“	
	Jessie “	Daughter	14	“	
	James “	Son	11	“	
	William “	Son	9	“	
	John Work	Agricultural Labourer	31	“	C.of S.
	Betsy “	Wife	21	“	
	Magnus Nicolson	Agricultural Labourer	38	“	U.P.
	Margaret “	Wife	40	“	
	Coventry Russell	Sister-in-law	42	“	
	William Laughton	Tailor	64	Kirkwall	C.of S.
	Mary “	Wife	65	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter & Dressmaker	25	“	
	James Stevenson	Boat-builder	52	“	C.of S.
	Barbara “	Wife	56	Shapinsay	
	James “	Son & Joiner	25	“	
	William “	Son & Carpenter	22	“	
	Thomas “	Son & Carpenter	20	“	
	David Craigie	Sailor	30	Egilsay	
	Jane “	Wife	24	“	
	James Liddle	Mason	59	Shapinsay	
	John Scott	Cabinetmaker	34	Holm	C.of S.
	Jane “	Wife	30	Kirkwall	
	John “	Son	8	“	
	Peter “	Son	7	“	
	Jane “	Daughter	4	Shapinsay	
	Catherine “	Daughter	2	“	
	Jane Linklater	Knitter	57	“	
Balfour Village (cont.)	Thomas Rendall	Agricultural Labourer	70	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Mary “	Wife	46	“	
	Margaret Work	Mother-in-law	75	“	
	William Bell	Gas-stoker	54	“	
	Ann “	Wife	54	“	
	Alexandrina “	Daughter & Domestic S.	20	“	
	George “	Son & Labourer	17	“	
	Thomas “	Son	12	“	
	Alexander Craigie	Agricultural Labourer	48	Egilsay	C.of S.
	Barbara “	Wife	39	Westray	
	James “	Son & Joiner	18	Egilsay	
	Jemima “	Daughter	11	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	8	“	



	George	"	Son	2	Shapinsay	
	Janet	"	Daughter	6 months	"	
	Donald McIntosh		Agricultural Labourer	33	Wick	U.P.
	Isabella	"	Wife	35	"	
	Donald	"	Son & Carpenter	14	"	
	Christina	"	Daughter	7	Shapinsay	
	George	"	Son	5	"	
	David	"	Son	3	"	
	John	"	Son	1	"	
	Mary Heddle		Domestic Servant	24	"	
	James Donaldson		Blacksmith	31	"	
	Coventrie	"	Mother	68	"	
	John Bews		Assistant Blacksmith	22	Eday	
	Thomas Stevenson		Assistant Blacksmith	22	Shapinsay	
	Marion Reid		Dairy-keeper	49	"	
	James	"	Son & Shoemaker	17	"	
	Helen	"	Daughter	14	"	
	George Franklin		Grandson	4	England	
	John Tinch		Carpenter	31	Kilsyth	U.P.
	Mary	"	Wife	31	Shapinsay	
	Eleanor	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	8	"	
	James	"	Son	6	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	4	"	
	John	"	Son	2	"	
	Thomas Hutchison		Agricultural Labourer	55	"	U.P.
	Mary	"	Wife	48	"	
	William	"	Son & Shoemaker	16	"	
	William Durham		Mason's Apprentice	20	Dunnet	
	Thomas Hutchison		Seaman		24	Shapinsay
C.of S.	Elizabeth	"	Wife	26	"	
	David	"	Son	3 months	"	
	Alexander Drummond		Fisherman	68	"	
	Christian	"	Wife	73	"	
Balfour Village (cont.)	John Drever		Mason	42	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Janet	"	Wife	43	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	18	"	
	John	"	Son	13	"	
	James	"	Son	10	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	8	"	
	Jessie	"	Daughter	2	"	
	James Durham		Shoemaker	22	Dunnet	C.of S.
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	19	"	
	Catherine	"	Daughter	1 month	Shapinsay	
	Hugh McGregor		Farm Servant	19	Inverness	
	Catherine Robertson		visitor	16	Dunnet	
	William Heddle		Agricultural Labourer	66	Shapinsay	E.U.
	Benjamin Johnston		Son-in-law & Ploughman	27	Lerwick	

	Elizabeth “	Daughter	28	Shapinsay	
	Helen “	Granddaughter	13	“	
	Joseph Bews	Mason	25	Stenness	
	James Clouston	Mason	24	“	
	John Brodie	Joiner	21	Stronsay	
	Marion Stevenson	Pauper	70	Shapinsay	
	Marjory “	Daughter & Agr. Lab.	25	“	
	Margaret Heddle	Pauper	63	“	
	Jane Nicolson	Pensioner	67	“	
	Margaret “	Pauper	65	“	
Waves Hotel	James McRobbie	Joiner & Hotelkeeper	61	Monnemail	C.of S.
	Margaret “	Wife	61	St.Andrews,Fife	
	Margaret “	Daughter	33	“	
	George Forbes	Millwright	30	Latheron	
	Margaret Work	Pensioner	68	Shapinsay	
	William Drever	Mason	44	“	U.P.
	Janet “	Wife	40	“	
	James “	Son & Mason	20	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	16	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	13	“	
	Thomas Smith	Retired Seaman	79	Westray	U.P.
	Margaret Peace	Granddaughter	24	Shapinsay	
	James Smith	Grandson	14	“	
	Thomas “	Grandson	10	“	
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	8	“	
	John “	Grandson	2	“	
Village School	Elizabeth Smith	Schoolmistress	31	Edinburgh	C.of S.
	Louisa “	Daughter	9	Inverurie	
	William “	Son	7	“	
	Phoebe “	Daughter	4	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	3	“	
Balfour Lodge	John Hume	Shipsmaster	33	Shapinsay	C.of S.
	Barbara “	Wife	27	Kirkwall	
Balfour Lodge (cont.)	David Hume	Son	5	Shapinsay	
	Eleanor “	Daughter	4	“	
	Jane “	Daughter	2	“	
	Elisa “	Daughter	4 months	“	
	Catherine Russell	Domestic Servant	21	“	
Balfour Gardens	William Tait	Head Gardener	28	Kirkwall	C.of S.
	Elizabeth “	Wife	29	“	
	William “	Son	5	“	
	James “	Son	2	Shapinsay	
Balfour Castle	David Balfour	Proprietor	49	“	Episcop.
	Eleanor “	Wife	50	Eyemouth	
	Rachel McWattie	Housekeeper	50	Ruthven	
	Elisa Leslie	Housemaid	30	Sanday	
	Betsy Craigie	Housemaid	26	Rousay	
	Mary Work	Kitchenmaid	18	Shapinsay	

Storehouses	Thomas Cooper	Agricultural Labourer	41	Rousay C.of S.
	Mary “	Wife	35	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	7	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	4	“
	Christina “	Daughter	1	“
	John Liddle	Gardener	38	Kirkwall C.of S.
	Catherine “	Wife	39	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	15	“
	Ann “	Daughter	10	“
	David “	Son	5	“
	William “	Son	1	“
Sound	Alexander Robertson	Butler	43	Dalmeny C.of S.
	Eliza “	Butler's Widow	47	Hawick
	William “	Son	12	Edinburgh
	Jane “	Daughter	9	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	7	“
	William Skea	Agricultural Labourer	33	“ U.P.
	Rachel “	Wife	29	Sanday
	Mary “	Daughter	2	Kirkwall
	Jane Sinclair	Domestic Servant	22	Orphir
	George Leslie	Gardener	79	Westray
	Jane “	Wife	75	Egilsay
	Ann Work	Sister-in-law	72	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Sister-in-law	60	“
Balfour Mains (550 acres)	William Phimster	Grieve	42	Wick C.of S.
	Christina “	Wife	36	“
	Annabella Leverock	Domestic Servant	20	Orphir
	Jane Mudie	Domestic Servant	19	Sanday
Bothy	Sinclair McAdie	Hind	34	Bower C.of s.
	Jane “	Wife	34	“
	Robertina “	Daughter	2	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	1	“
	James Bews	Ploughman	28	“
	Malcolm Heddle	Ploughman	23	“
	William Wylie	Ploughman	21	Holm
	James Huchison	Ploughman	20	Shapinsay
	Robert Stevenson	Agricultural Labourer	43	Kirkwall
	Margaret “	Wife	44	“
Widewalls	James “	Son	9	Shapinsay
	David “	Son	4	“
Redbanks (26 acres)	Magnus Work	Farmer	64	“
	Elizabeth “	Wife	63	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	27	“
	Christina “	Daughter	25	“
	Magnus “	Son & Carpenter	22	“
	Thomas “	Son	20	“
	Robert “	Son	16	“
Agricola	James Cooper	Agricultural Labourer	69	Egilsay
	Jane “	Wife	63	Shapinsay
	Margaret Laughton	Mother-in-law	88	“
Sethaquoy (26 acres)	William Nicolson	Farmer	77	“ C.of S.
	Eleanor “	Wife	78	“

	Janet	"	Daughter	51	"
	Edward	"	Son	44	"
	Margaret	"	Granddaughter	14	"
	Mary	"	Granddaughter	11	"
	Eleanor	"	Granddaughter	9	"
Grind (15 acres)	Thomas Work		Farmer	59	"
	Helen	"	Wife	57	"
	Betsy	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	25	"
	Thomas	"	Son	23	"
	Robert	"	Son & Cabinetmaker	16	"
Cowbraes	Isabella Russell		Farm Labourer	33	North Ronaldsay
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	8	Shapinsay
	Margaret	"	Daughter	7	"
Barebraes	Elizabeth Work		Pauper	56	"
Westhill (106 acres)	William Jolly		Farmer	37	Stonehaven C.of s.
	Margaret	"	Wife	39	Shapinsay
	Margaret	"	Daughter	4	"
	William	"	Son	3	"
	John	"	Son	6 months	"
	John Sinclair		Ploughman	19	Burray
	Mary Shearer		Domestic Servant	17	Eday
Troynhead (20 acres)	John Moodie		Farmer	46	Sanday C.of S.
	Jane	"	Wife	43	"
	Ann	"	Daughter & Domestic S.	11	"
	David	"	Son	9	"
	Mary	"	Daughter	8	Shapinsay
	Margaret	"	Daughter	6	"
	William	"	Son	4	"
	Andrew	"	Son	1	"
Bught (10 acres) Rosecraigie (40 acres)	George Sinclair		Farmer	67	Sanday
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	60	Shapinsay
	James Work		Farmer	55	Shapinsay
	Helen	"	Wife	55	Fair isle
	William	"	Son	24	Shapinsay
	Margaret	"	Daughter	17	"
	Magnus	"	Son	15	"
	Thomas	"	Son	13	"
Furrowend (26 acres)	Thomas Laughton		Farmer	52	"
	Catherine	"	Wife	54	"
	Betsy	"	Daughter	24	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter & Milliner	20	"
	John	"	Son	15	"
	Peter	"	Son	13	"
	Isat	"	Son	10	"
Waltness (220 acres)	George Frisken		Farmer	78	Duns C.of S.
	Agnes	"	Wife	73	Ryton
	Adam	"	Son	33	Ayton
	Sarah	"	Daughter	25	Cockburnspath
	Helen	"	Daughter	14	Chirnside
	Catherine	"	Daughter	8	England



	John Sinclair	Ploughman	22	Sanday	
	John Moodie	Ploughman	20	"	
	James "	Brother & Ploughman	17	"	
Greenwall (30 acres)	Thomas Russell	Farmer	63	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	61	"	
	Thomas "	Son	35	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	32	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	18	"	
	William Corsie	Son-in-law & Blacksmith	29	Rousay	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	26	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	2	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter 9 months		"	
Gebro (30 acres)	John Skea	Farmer	57	"	
	Isabella "	Wife	53	"	
	Elizabeth"	Daughter	25	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	14	"	
	John "	Son	11	"	
	Janet Merriman	Mother-in-law	80	Evie	
Runabout	William Frisken	Agricultural Labourer	42	Swinton	U.P.
	Margaret "	Wife	28	Shapinsay	
	Agnes "	Daughter	13	Ryton	
	Isabella "	Daughter	10	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	6	"	
	George "	Son 9 months		Shapinsay	
	Robert Miller	Agricultural Labourer	28	Eday	
	Mary "	Wife	30	Fair isle	
	Thomas "	Son	6	Westray	
	Andrew "	Son	4	Kirkwall	
	Robert "	Son	3	Finstown	
	Mary "	Daughter	1	Shapinsay	
Garth Garth (cont.) (105 acres)	James Harcus	Farmer	18	Eday	U.P.
	Barbara Harcus	Sister	26	Eday	
	Thomas Nicolson	Retired Farmer	71	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Daughter	38	"	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	14	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter	12	"	
	William "	Grandson	9	"	
Bu'house (10 acres)	Peter Bews	Farmer	58	"	
	Mary "	Wife	60	Evie	
	Mary "	Daughter	35	Shapinsay	
	William "	Son & Seaman	32	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	20	"	
	Christina "	Daughter	17	"	
Parkhall (40 acres)	William Bews	Farmer & Grocer	50	"	U.P.
	Mary "	Wife	36	"	
	William "	Son	20	Kirkwall	
	Samuel "	Son	6	Shapinsay	
Ousebister (16 acres)	Magnus Bews	Farmer	77	"	
	Barbara "	Daughter	48	"	
Trattleton	Joseph Cadger	Ploughman	26	Fyfie	

	Jessie “	Wife	26	Stroma	
	Joseph “	Son	2	Burray	
	Andrew “	Son	1	Shapinsay	
Strathore (200 acres)	James Fullerton	Farmer	34	Arbroath	C.of S.
	Isabella “	Wife	32	“	
	William “	Son	9	Shapinsay	
	Helen “	Daughter	8	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	5	“	
	Ann “	Daughter	3	“	
	Eliza “	Daughter	1	“	
	Jean Hutchison	Dairymaid	24	Kirkwall	
	Janet Moodie	Domestic Servant	20	Stronsay	
	Peter Gunn	Ploughman	20	Kirkwall	
	William Matches	Ploughman	16	Holm	
	John Reid	Farm Servant	15	Shapinsay	
West Laro U.P. (30 acres)	Thomas Swanney	Farmer	50	North Ronaldsay	
	Jane “	Wife	49	Fair Isle	
	Thomas “	Son	24	Eday	
	John “	Son	20	“	
	Ann “	Daughter	14	“	
	Magnus “	Retired Farmer	84	North Ronaldsay	
Mossbank (20 acres)	John Irvine	Farmer	54	Eday	
	Mary “	Wife	47	“	
	David “	Son	25	“	
	John “	Son	19	“	
	James “	Son	14	“	
	Robert “	Son	9	“	
	Lawrence “	Son	5	“	
Flakimoss Flakimoss (cont.) (26 acres)	Sinclair Dunnett	Farmer	35	Canisbay	Free C.
	Mary Dunnett	Wife	35	Shapinsay	
	Charles “	Son	8	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	6	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	4	“	
	Margaret Heddle	Mother-in-law	60	“	
	Jane “	Aunt	56	“	
Crossgates (23 acres)	James Hutchison	Farmer	64	“	E.U.
	Marion “	Daughter	36	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	29	“	
	Magnus “	Son	23	“	
	Janet “	Daughter	18	“	
	Jean “	Daughter	14	“	
	James “	Grandson	3	“	
Parochial School	George Hepburn	Schoolmaster	41	“	C.of S.
	Isabella “	Wife	37	Eday	
	Isabella “	Daughter	14	“	
	George “	Son	12	Shapinsay	
	William “	Son	3	“	
	Peter “	Son	1	“	
	Jane “	Mother	80	Eday	
	Stewart Harcus	Tailor	27	“	
	David “	Brother & Cabinetmaker	26	“	

	Thomas Swanney	Ploughman	18	Shapinsay	
U.P. Manse	James Brown	Minister	58	Methven	U.P.
	Jane "	Daughter	24	Shapinsay	
	Elisa Heddle	Domestic Servant	50	"	
	Mary Tait	Pensioner	66	"	
	John Pettigrew	visitor	28	Wishaw	
Brecks (30 acres)	John Smith	Farmer	74	Westray	
	Helen "	Wife	71	Shapinsay	
	Thomas "	Son	46	"	
	William Baillie	Grandson	14	Kirkwall	
Church of Scotland Manse	Elizabeth Scott	Widow	87	Perth	C.of S.
	Sarah "	Daughter	39	"	
Glebe (53 acres)	Henry Nicolson	Grieve	25	Shapinsay	
	Ann Rendall	Dairymaid	24	Rendall	
	Jessie Dunnett	Domestic Servant	22	South Ronaldsay	
Hillhead	Margaret Russell	Retired Farm Servant	77	Shapinsay	
	Christina "	Pensioner	70	"	
Hannatoft (80 acres)	Magnus Work	Farmer	60	"	C.of S.
	Marion "	Wife	49	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	20	"	
	James "	Son	18	"	
	Robert "	Son	14	"	
	Peter "	Son	12	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	10	"	
	David "	Son	8	"	
	Thomas "	Son	5	"	
	Ann Work	Daughter	3	Shapinsay	
Hannatoft (cont.)	Ann Hepburn	Sister-in-law	53	"	
	John Work	Ploughman	28	"	U.P.
	Isabella "	Wife	25	"	
	John "	Son	2	"	
	Jane Miller	Farm Servant	21	Stronsay	
Ostoft (17 acres)	John Skea	Farmer	80	Shapinsay	C.of s.
	Cecilia "	Wife	82	"	
	Cecilia "	Daughter	44	"	
	David "	Son & Agricultural Lab.	46	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter-in-law	47	"	
	Isabella "	Granddaughter	16	"	
Lufaness (20 acres)	John	Grandson	7	"	
	John Hepburn	Farmer	42	"	C.of S.
	Margaret "	Wife	38	Orphir	
	Margaret "	Daughter	11	Shapinsay	
	Christian "	Daughter	9	"	
	Peter "	Son	6	"	
	John "	Son	4	"	
	Thomas "	Son	1	"	
	Christian "	Mother	83	"	
	James "	Brother	54	"	
	Mary "	Sister	42	"	

Stye	Peter Campbell	Farm Servant	34	Wick	C.of S.
	Ann “	Wife	36	Deerness	
	John “	Brother & Ploughman	23	Wick	
	Marcus “	Son	9	Shapinsay	
	Peter “	Son	7	“	
	Robert “	Son	5	“	
	Donald “	Son	3	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	1	“	
	Jane Sutherland	Dairymaid	38	Reay	
	Ann Reid	Dairymaid	17	Eday	
	James Peace	Ploughman	15	Kirkwall	
E.U. Manse	William Hutchison	Minister	41	Dumbarton	E.U.
	Sarah “	Wife	42	Ulster	
	James “	Father	64	Perth	
	Janet “	Mother	67	Alexandria	
	John “	Nephew	6	Glasgow	
	Mary Ploughman	Domestic Servant	17	Dunnet	
Chapelbrae	John Rendall	Agricultural Labourer	41	Stronsay	
	Elizabeth “	Sister	38	Shapinsay	
Odinstone (200 acres)	Thomas Rendall	Farm Manager	46	Stronsay	
	Margaret “	Wife	38	Shapinsay	
	Thomas “	Son	12	“	
	William “	Son	10	“	
	David “	Son	7	“	
	James “	Son	3	“	
	Agnes “	Daughter	1	“	
	Jessie Nicolson	Domestic Servant	16	Holm	
Aith	Betty Mouat	Widow & Domestic S.	38	Shapinsay	
	Isabella “	Daughter	9	“	
	John “	Son	7	“	
Larosdale (20 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	53	“	U.P.
	Esther “	Wife	51	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	22	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	19	“	
	John “	Son	15	“	
	William “	Son	12	“	
	David “	Son	9	“	
Quoybanks (25 acres)	Magnus Shearer	Farmer	58	“	U.P.
	Margaret “	Wife	52	“	
	Thomas “	Son	19	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	13	“	
Newfield (95 acres)	Ralph Ramshaw	Farmer	32	England	
	Margaret “	Wife	34	“	
	John Learmonth	Ploughman	34	Sanday	
	James Yorston	Shepherd	16	Egilsay	
Hestowall (20 acres)	John Hourston	Farmer	29	Eday	C.of S.
	Mary “	Wife	27	Sanday	
	John “	Son	7	Eday	
	Mary Ann “	Daughter	5	“	
	Barbara “	Daughter	3	“	
	Jessie “	Daughter	1	Shapinsay	

Courthall	Magnus Russell	Ploughman	27	"	U.P.
	Elizabeth "	Wife	26	"	
	James "	Son	1	"	
Roadside (17.5 acres)	William Harcus	Farmer	49	Eday	U.P.
	Isabella "	Wife	44	"	
	Elisabeth "	Daughter	10	"	
	Adam "	Son	8	"	
	Barbara "	Daughter	5	"	
	James Gullion	Tailor	28	"	
	Isabella "	Wife	24	"	
Wardhill (30 acres)	Thomas Thomson	Farmer	44	North Ronaldsay	
	Ann "	Wife	30	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	5	"	
	Ann "	Daughter	2	"	
	Thomas "	Nephew	14	"	
	William "	Nephew	11	"	
	Mary Muir	Midwife	51	"	
	John "	Son & Joiner	26	"	
Barebraes (20 acres)	Thomas Russell	Farmer	38	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Euphemia "	Wife	38	South Ronaldsay	
	William "	Son	7	Shapinsay	
	Jessie "	Daughter	5	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	1	"	
Braefoot	Thomas Omand	Joiner	26	Eday	
	Ann "	Wife	21	"	
	Jane "	Sister	11	"	
	Robert "	Son	2	"	
Busgar	William Michael	Shoemaker	83	Shapinsay	
	Batsy "	Daughter	51	"	
Staquooy (45 acres)	Jane Irvine	Farmer	73	Sanday	
	Jane "	Daughter	33	Shapinsay	
	John Stevenson	Ploughman	20	"	
	William "	Brother & Farm Servant	14	"	
	Robert "	Brother & Farm Servant	11	"	
Tew (15 acres)	James Nicolson	Blacksmith	76	"	E.U.
	Margaret "	Wife	74	"	
	John "	Son & Farmer	40	"	
	Betsy "	Sister	36	"	
	Janet "	Daughter-in-law	35	"	
	Mary "	Granddaughter	9	"	
	Margaret "	Granddaughter	6	"	
	John "	Grandson	4	"	
Quoymoorhouse (63 acres)	John Scott	Farmer	65	"	E.U.
	Christina "	Wife	61	"	
	John "	Son	31	"	
	William "	Son	29	"	
	Mary "	Daughter-in-law	29	"	
	James "	Son & Fisherman	26	"	
	Jane "	Daughter-in-law	24	Evie	



	David “	Son	23	Shapinsay	
	Thomas “	Son & Cabinetmaker	17	“	
	John “	Grandson	5	“	
	James “	Grandson	3	“	
	Mary “	Granddaughter	2	“	
	Mary Swanney	Farm Servant	26	North Ronaldsay	
	William Craigie	Domestic Servant	13	Egilsay	
Purtaquoy (15 acres)	Magnus Michael	Farmer	63	Shapinsay	
	Marjory “	Wife	65	“	
	Magnus “	Son & Fisherman	37	“	
	Mary “	Daughter-in-law	20	Stronsay	
	Elizabeth “	Aunt	76	Shapinsay	
	Barbara Work	Domestic Servant	22	“	
	Barbara Jones	Domestic Servant	12	“	
Scarpigarth	John Work	Fisherman	31	“	
	Margaret “	Wife	31	“	
	John “	Son	5	“	
	Thomas “	Son	3	“	
Mounthoolie (20 acres)	James Work	Farmer	29	“	
	Ann “	Wife	29	Stronsay	
	Ann “	Daughter	2	Kirkwall	
	Jessie “	Daughter	2 months	Shapinsay	
	John “	Father & Retired Farmer	70	Kirkwall	
Mounthoolie (cont.)	Barbara Work	Mother	59	Kirkwall	
	Mary Shearer	Sister-in-law	22	Stronsay	
	Jane Leask	Domestic Servant	19	Eday	
	Mary Finlay	Domestic Servant	13	Sanday	
Dogspaw (10 acres)	James Liddle	Farmer	48	Shapinsay	
	Catherine “	Wife	37	“	
	James “	Son	5	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	4	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	2	“	
Heligo	William Work	Weaver	71	“	
	Margaret “	Wife	71	Shapinsay	
	Margaret “	Daughter	28	“	
Luckston	James Michael	Merchant	32	Aberdeen	E.U.
	Catherine “	Wife	31	Shapinsay	
	Christian “	Daughter	4	“	
	James “	Son	3	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	1	“	
Sandgarth (27 acres)	John Irvine	Farmer	69	“	E.U.
	Christian “	Wife	65	“	
	John “	Son	45	“	
	James “	Son & Fisherman	33	“	
	Isabella “	Daughter-in-law	39	“	
	James “	Grandson	5	“	
	Isabella “	Granddaughter	1	“	
	Marion “	Aunt	83	“	
	Barbara Work	Sister	71	“	
	Margaret Shearer	Farm Servant	18	“	

	Jean	"	Sister & Farm Servant	8	"	
Little Sandgarth	John Drummond		Fisherman	49	"	U.P.
	Helen	"	Wife	47	"	
	William	"	Son	8	"	
	John	"	Father	74	"	
	Janet	"	Mother	80	"	
	Mary Yorston		Domestic Servant	12	Egilsay	
Ganderbrake	Samuel Hepburn		Fisherman	28	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	27	"	
	Samuel	"	Son	7 months	"	
	John	"	Father & Boatbuilder	70	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Sister	46	"	
	James Irvine		Grandson	14	Kirkwall	
Hacosness (30 acres)	Charles Moodie		Farmer	30	Sanday	C.of S.
	Margaret	"	Wife	39	"	
	Catherine	"	Daughter	10	"	
	Andrew	"	Son	7	Shapinsay	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	4	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	2	"	
	John	"	Son	5 months	"	
Haroldsgarth (45 acres)	James Hepburn		Farmer	64	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Janet Hepburn		Wife	72	Shapinsay	
	Magnus Craigie		Ploughman	39	Egilsay	
	Barbara	"	Wife	38	Shapinsay	
	James	"	Son & Joiner	16	"	
	Magnus	"	Son	14	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	12	"	
	Peter	"	Son	10	"	
	William	"	Son	8	"	
	John	"	Son	6	"	
	Barbara	"	Daughter	4	"	
	Barbara Dunnett		Farm Servant	21	South Ronaldsay	
Howe (100 acres)	Magnus Craigie		Farmer	68	Egilsay	U.P.
	Rebecca	"	Wife	67	"	
	Hugh	"	Son	36	"	
	Helen	"	Daughter-in-law	28	Wick	
	William	"	Son	24	Shapinsay	
	Helen	"	Granddaughter	1	"	
	Margaret Hourston		Sister-in-law	63	Egilsay	
	Helen Nicolson		Mother-in-law	65	Wick	
	Alexander Leask		Agricultural Labourer	29	Rousay	
	Marjory	"	Wife	34	Egilsay	
	Hugh	"	Son	4	Shapinsay	
	Margaret Wilson		Domestic Servant	18	Sanday	
	Jane Harcus		Domestic Servant	20	Eday	
	David	"	Farm Servant	12	Kirkwall	
Bashan	Thomas Flett		Agricultural Labourer	50	Shapinsay	
Houseby (19 acres)	William Flett		Farmer	62	"	U.P.
	Jean	"	Wife	65	"	
	Margaret	"	Niece & Domestic S.	35	Egilsay	
	Ann Heddle		Aunt	75	Shapinsay	

	Jean “	Niece	25	“	
	Charles “	Nephew	18	“	
Grassquoy (13 acres)	John Sinclair	Farmer	38	Sanday	U.P.
	Margaret “	Wife	39	“	
	John “	Son	14	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	12	“	
	James “	Son	8	Shapinsay	
	Jane “	Daughter	4	“	
	Ann “	Daughter	1	“	
	Barbara Work	Aunt	73	“	
Lingro (40 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	48	“	E.U.
	Mary “	Wife	48	“	
	James “	Brother & Stonemason	42	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	22	“	
	James “	Son	17	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	10	“	
	Robert “	Son	6	“	
	David “	Son	3	Kirkwall	
	Helen “	Daughter	1	Shapinsay	
	Christina Scott	Sister-in-law	44	“	
	Rebecca Wilson	Farm Labourer	27	Kirkwall	
Comely Bank (20 acres)	Magnus Hutchison	Farmer	65	Shapinsay	
	Barbara “	Wife	50	Fair Isle	
	Elizabeth “	Sister	57	Shapinsay	
	Peter Irvine	Farm Servant	16	Eday	
Veantrow (22 acres)	James Irvine	Farmer	66	Shapinsay	
	Margaret “	Wife	71	“	
	Thomas “	Son	31	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	29	“	
Girnigeo (30 acres)	James Drever	Farmer	76	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	45	“	
	John “	Son	40	“	
	William “	Son	27	“	
	Isabella “	Daughter-in-law	25	North Ronaldsay	
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	8 months	Shapinsay	
	William Sinclair	Farm Servant	15	Kirkwall	
Quholm (30 acres)	Marcus Irvine	Farmer	61	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Elisabeth “	Wife	51	“	
	Elizabeth Nicolson	Granddaughter	10	“	
	James “	Grandson	7	“	
	Margaret Reid	Domestic Servant	21	“	
	John Shearer	Farm Servant	17	“	
	John Yorston	Farm Servant	14	Rousay	
Caskald (50 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	60	Shapinsay	
	Margaret “	Sister	56	“	
	Margaret “	Wife	54	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	26	“	
	David Laughton	Farm Servant	22	“	
	David Marwick	Domestic Servant	14	Kirkwall	
Ha’quoy (80 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	64	Shapinsay	
	Catherine “	Wife	60	“	

	Janet	"	Sister	64	"	
	John	"	Son	31	"	
	John	"	Grandson	20	"	
	Elizabeth Smith		Farm Servant	25	Rousay	
	Harriet	"	Sister & Dairymaid	20	"	
	William Drever		Domestic Servant	13	Shapinsay	
Sholtoquoy (35 acres)	John Swanney		Farmer	72	"	
	Margaret	"	Wife	72	"	
	William	"	Son	36	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	35	"	
	Robert Heddle		Farm Servant	20	"	
	Thomas Drever		Farm Servant	9	"	
Upper Bigging (10 acres)	Thomas Bews		Farmer	61	"	C.of S.
	Mary	"	Wife	47	"	
	John	"	Son	7	"	
Nether Bigging (40 acres)	John Michael		Retired Farmer	72	"	C.of S.
	Janet	"	Daughter	48	"	
	Magnus	"	Son & Farmer	46	"	
Nether Bigging (cont.)	Margaret Michael		Daughter	43	Shapinsay	
	Janet	"	Daughter-in-law	32	"	
	Jessie	"	Granddaughter	13	"	
	Margaret	"	Granddaughter	6	"	
	Agnes	"	Granddaughter	3	"	
	James Miller		Agricultural Labourer	38	Eday	
	James Sinclair		Ploughman	17	Stronsay	
	Robert Miller		Farm Servant	14	Eday	
Ness (110 acres)	John Dennison		Farmer	70	Sanday	C.of S.
	William	"	Son	35	Shapinsay	
	Christian	"	Daughter	30	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter-in-law	26	"	
	James Work		Ploughman	22	"	
	Eliza Walls		Dairymaid	22	Sanday	
	Christina Omand		Domestic Servant	20	Eday	
	William Bews		Ploughman	18	Shapinsay	
Quoys (37 acres)	Christina Reid		Farmer	63	"	
	Christina	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	38	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	33	"	
	James	"	Son	31	"	
	John	"	Son	25	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	20	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	18	"	
Easthouse (20 acres)	James Heddle		Farmer	68	"	E.U.
	Marion	"	Wife	70	"	
	William Irvine		Son-in-law	27	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	31	"	
	William	"	Grandson	2	"	
	John	"	Grandson	2 months	"	
Headgeo (24 acres)	William Drever		Farmer	79	"	
	Giles	"	Wife	74	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	36	"	
	William	"	Son	27	"	

Nisthouse (20 acres)	Mary Inkster	Farmer	54	Rousay	U.P.
	John “	Son	27	Evie	
	Isabella “	Daughter-in-law	22	Shapinsay	
	David “	Son	22	Evie	
	William “	Son	17	“	
	Hugh “	Son	15	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	12	“	
	Samuel “	Son	7	“	
Diggings (30 acres)	John “	Grandson	1	Shapinsay	
	James Work	Farmer	57	“	
	Janet “	Wife	58	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	27	“	
	Magnus “	Son	21	“	
	William “	Son	16	“	
Vedesquoy (30 acres)	Thomas Stevenson	Agricultural Labourer	21	Eday	
	William Nicolson	Farmer	61	Shapinsay	
	Isabella “	Wife	55	Rendall	
	Malcolm “	Son	25	Shapinsay	
	William “	Son	22	“	
	Isabella “	Daughter	18	“	
Midhouse (20 acres)	Thomas Bews	Farmer	51	“	U.P.
	Margaret “	Wife	63	“	
	James “	Son	18	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	11	“	
	Sarah “	Daughter	9	“	
Hillside (20 acres)	William Reid	Farmer	29	Eday	
	Jessie “	Wife	33	Westray	
	William “	Son	7	Eday	
	Jessie “	Daughter	5	“	
	John “	Son	2	Shapinsay	
	Robert Shearer	Agricultural Labourer	27	Eday	
Brecks (46 acres)	James Work	Retired Farmer	82	Shapinsay	
	Helen “	Daughter	49	“	
	William “	Son & Farmer	46	“	
	Catherine “	Daughter	32	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter-in-law	31	Sandwick	
	James “	Grandson	24	Shapinsay	
	James “	Great-grandson	5	“	
	William “	Great-grandson	3	“	
	David “	Great-grandson	1	“	
Northhill (25 acres)	Robert Reid	Farm Servant	12	Eday	
	William Hepburn	Farmer	40	Shapinsay	
	Margaret “	Wife	36	“	
	Christina “	Daughter	13	“	
	William “	Son	10	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	7	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	3	“	
Whitecleat	Robert “	Son	1	“	
	Magnus Work	Farmer	55	“	



(37 acres)	Jane	"	Wife	52	"	
	James	"	Son	27	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	18	"	
	Robert	"	Son	12	"	
	John Rousay		Farm Servant	9	Eday	
Kirkhill (60 acres)	James Kemp		Farmer	41	Kincardine O'Neill	
	Jane	"	Wife	35	"	
	Robert	"	Son	13	"	
	Mary	"	Daughter	11	"	
	James	"	Son	8	Shapinsay	
	William	"	Son	4	"	
	Jane	"	Daughter	2	"	
Linton (35 acres)	Mary Hepburn		Farmer	52	"	U.P.
	James	"	Son	25	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter-in-law	22	Orphir	
Linton (cont.)	Janet Hepburn		Daughter	19	Shapinsay	
	Margaret	"	Granddaughter	1	"	
	William Omand		Farm Servant	14	Walls	
	John Shearer		Farm Servant	11	Shapinsay	
Feaston (20 acres)	Magnus Shearer		Farmer	48	"	U.P.
	Christina	"	Wife	41	Sanday	
	James	"	Son	22	Shapinsay	
	Mary	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Christina	"	Daughter	13	"	
	Sarah	"	Daughter	6	"	
	Thomas	"	Son	3	"	
	Margaret	"	Mother	97	"	
	Catherine	"	Sister	50	"	
Little Feaston (10 acres)	William Work		Farmer	43	"	
	Margaret	"	Wife	41	Evie	
	William	"	Son	14	Shapinsay	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	10	"	
Furstigarth (30 acres)	James Meason		Farmer	56	"	U.P.
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	53	"	
	James	"	Son & Fisherman	30	"	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	20	"	
	David	"	Grandson	8	"	
	James	"	Grandson	3	"	
	Mary Heddle		Dressmaker	35	"	
	Jane Chambers		Farm Servant	13	Kirkwall	
Waterhouse (15 acres)	William Liddle		Farmer	53	Shapinsay	
	Jane	"	Wife	44	Westray	
	Thomas	"	Son	18	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	14	"	
Greenataing	John Jones		Agricultural Labourer	48	Kirkwall	Free C.
	Barbara	"	Wife	50	Shapinsay	
	Ann	"	Daughter	20	"	
	Margaret	"	Daughter	15	"	
	Samuel	"	Son	9	"	
Haughland	Thomas Shearer		Retired Farmer	74	"	

	Margaret "	Wife	76	"	
	James Sketheway	Fisherman	32	"	U.P.
	Isabella "	Wife	37	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	7	"	
	James "	Son	5	"	
	William "	Son	5	"	
	John "	Son	1	"	
Pictou	Peter Shearer	Fisherman	60	"	
	Jane "	Wife	48	Evie	
Petra	William Sketheway	Tailor	44	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth "	Wife	34	"	
	William "	Son	5	"	
	Isabella "	Daughter	2	"	
Pekin (15 acres)	Thomas Shearer	Farmer	46	Shapinsay	E.U.
	Margaret "	Wife	45	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	12	"	
	James "	Son	6	"	
	William "	Son	4	"	
Millburn (20 acres)	John Shearer	Farmer	33	"	U.P.
	Jane "	Wife	27	"	
	John "	Son	6	"	
	James "	Son	4	"	
	William "	Son	2	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	1	"	
Heathhouse	Elizabeth Heddle	Knitter	60	"	
	Margaret "	Sister & Knitter	58	"	
Fuag (20 acres)	James Shearer	Farmer	31	"	E.U.
	Mary "	Wife	24	Eday	
	Mary "	Daughter	4	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Daughter	2	"	
Canada	William Heddle	Agricultural Labourer	29	"	
	Isabella "	Wife	28	South Ronaldsay	
	Margaret "	Daughter	3	Shapinsay	
	Isabella "	Daughter	1	"	
	Isabella "	Mother	56	Stronsay	
	Margaret Stewart	Mother-in-law	66	Holm	
	Margaret Sketheway	Widow	77	Shapinsay	
Cleat (30 acres)	James Work	Farmer	48	"	
	Catherine "	Wife	48	Stronsay	
	Jane "	Daughter	26	Shapinsay	
	Mary "	Daughter	21	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	"	
	William "	Son	12	"	
Braeholland (20 acres)	William Michael	Farmer	45	"	E.U.
	Mary "	Wife	46	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	19	"	
	James "	Son	15	"	
	Mary "	Daughter	13	"	
	Robert "	Son	8	"	
	John "	Son	8	"	

	William “	Father & Retired Farmer	80	“	
Little Gorn	Sibella Inkster	Knitter	66	Tankerness	
	Alexander McKay	Agricultural Labourer	20	Reay	
New Gorn	William Gullion	Retired Weaver	79	Westray	
	Margaret “	Wife	77	Orphir	
	William Work	Carpenter	34	Shapinsay	
	Jane “	Wife	29	Finstown	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	4	Shapinsay	
	Margaret “	Daughter	8 months	“	
	Margaret Seatter	Seamstress	34	“	
	Peter “	Son	11	“	
Swartaquoy (45 acres)	Jane Groat	Farmer	54	Shapinsay	U.P.
	Ann “	Daughter	28	“	
	Thomas “	Son	26	“	
	Jemima “	Daughter-in-law	24	“	
	James “	Son	16	“	
	Eliza “	Daughter	12	“	
	William Learmonth	Grandson	2	“	
	James Maxwell	Farm Servant	11	“	
Sandsend (20 acres)	Robert Sinclair	Farmer	68	Stronsay	
	Marion “	Wife	66	Shapinsay	
	John “	Son	28	Stronsay	
	William “	Son	24	Shapinsay	
Monquhanny (120 acres)	James Reid	Retired Farmer	62	“	
	Janet “	Wife	63	“	
	James “	Son & Cabinetmaker	27	“	
	David “	Farmer	24	“	
	Isabella “	Daughter-in-law	26	“	
	Frances “	Daughter & Dressmaker	21	“	
	Jane “	Daughter & Dressmaker	16	“	
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	4 months	“	
	John Scott	Grandson	5	“	
	Magnus Shearer	Ploughman	20	“	
	Isabella Heddle	Domestic Servant	27	“	
	Isabella Hutchison	Domestic Servant	20	“	
	Alexander Bews	Ploughman	17	Eday	
	James Hepburn	Farm Servant	12	Kirkwall	
East Larodale (30 acres)	James Allan	Farmer	30	Eday	U.P.
	Jane “	Wife	19	Shapinsay	
	Jane “	Daughter	6 months	“	
	James “	Father & Joiner	68	Kirkwall	
	Eliza “	Mother	66	Deerness	
	John “	Brother & Fisherman	29	Eday	
	Christina “	Wife	25	“	
	Jessie “	Daughter	1	Shapinsay	
	Eliza Harcus	visitor	35	Eday	
	Eliza “	daughter	1	“	
Skoenstoft (40 acres)	Thomas Mouat	Farmer	72	Rousay	
	Thomas “	Son & Fisherman	41	Stronsay	
	Christina “	Daughter-in-law	38	Shapinsay	
	James “	Son	32	“	

‘twa-beeld’

	Thomas “	Grandson	12	“	
	Elizabeth “	Granddaughter	3	“	
	Isabella Reid	Domestic Servant	15	Eday	
Lochend	John Work	Carpenter	61	Shapinsay	E.U.
	Elizabeth “	Wife	55	“	
	Thomas “	Son & Shoemaker	30	“	
	James “	Son & Farm Manager	22	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	19	“	
	Jane “	Daughter	17	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	14	“	
Inkerman (30 acres)	Peter Maxwell	Farmer	41	Stronsay	U.P.
	Margaret “	Wife	51	Sanday	
	Peter “	Son	15	Shapinsay	
	Margaret “	Daughter	9	“	
	John “	Son	4	“	
	Margaret Reid	visitor	63	“	
Lucknow (30 acres)	Robert Sinclair	Farmer	40	“	E.U.
	Esther “	Wife	44	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	13	“	
	James “	Son	11	“	
	Robert “	Son	8	“	
	William “	Son	7	“	
	Jean “	Daughter	4	“	
	William Michael	Farm Servant	18	“	
Ha'breck	James Hutchison	Agricultural Labourer	32	“	
	Elizabeth “	Wife	31	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	5	“	
	William “	Son	3	“	
	James “	Son	1	“	
Society School	David Hepburn	Schoolmaster	46	“	C.of S.
	Mary “	Wife	33	“	
	David “	Son	18	“	
	John “	Son	10	“	
	Ann Rousay	Domestic Servant	15	Eday	

Total Population 973

1871

Balfour Castle	David Balfour	Proprietor	59	Shapinsay	Episcop.
	Eleanor “	Wife	60	Eyemouth	
	Eliza Leslie	Housemaid	40	Sanday	
	Mary Merriman	Cook	38	Birsay	
	Isabella Frisken	Ladysmaid	28	Bower	
	Elizabeth Matheson	Housemaid	27	Orphir	
	Margaret Tinch	Housemaid	19	Shapinsay	
Sound Cottages	Alexander Robertson	Butler	53	Dalmeny	
	Eliza “	Wife	56	Hawick	
	William “	Son	22	Edinburgh	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	17	Shapinsay	

	Ralph Ramshaw	Coachman	42	England
	Margaret “	Wife	43	“
Gardener's Lodge	William Tait	Gardener	38	Kirkwall
	Betsy “	Wife	39	“
	James “	Son	12	Shapinsay
	Jane “	Daughter	8	“
Gardener's Lodge (cont.)	Eleanor Tait	Daughter	2	Shapinsay
Porter's Lodge	William Bell	Gas Works Manager	65	“
	Ann “	Daughter	32	“
Girl's Schoolhouse	Rachel Dow	Schoolmistress	22	Lumphanen
Balfour Village	John Reid	Fisherman	35	Shapinsay
	Barbara “	Wife	36	Kirkwall
	David “	Son	15	Shapinsay
	Eleanor “	Daughter	14	“
	Jane “	Daughter	12	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	10	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	8	“
	John Easson	Grocer	54	Deerness
	Marion Stevenson	Pauper	79	Shapinsay
	May “	Daughter	36	“
	Isat Smith	Grocer	76	Westray
	Thomas Cooper	Farm servant	51	Egilsay
	Mary “	Wife	44	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	14	“
	Robina “	Daughter	8	“
	Thomas “	Son	5	“
	James “	Son	1	“
	John Tinch	Joiner	40	Kilsyth
	Mary “	Wife	40	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	14	“
	John “	Son	12	“
	William “	Son	10	“
	Jean “	Daughter	7	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	3	“
	James Johnstone	Agricultural Labourer	29	Tankerness
	Elizabeth “	Wife	29	Kirkwall
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	8	Tankerness
	Helen “	Daughter	6	“
	James “	Son	2	Shapinsay
	John Drever	Mason	51	“
	Janet “	Wife	54	“
	John “	Son & Mason	23	“
	James “	Son & Mason	20	“
	Thomas “	Son & Farm Servant	18	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	12	“
	Ann Work	Spinster	80	Egilsay



Balfour Village (cont.)	William Michael	Seaman	28	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Wife	28	Tankerness
	Benjamin Johnstone	Farm Servant	38	Papa Stour
	Eliza “	Wife	38	Shapinsay
	Mary Heddle	Dressmaker	32	Shapinsay
	John Heddle	Seaman	29	Shapinsay
	James Donaldson	Blacksmith	43	“
	Margaret Muir	Domestic Servant	31	Sanday
	James Cooper	Agricultural Labourer	78	Egilsay
	Jane “	Wife	74	Shapinsay
	Jane Irvine	Widow	84	Sanday
	Jane “	Daughter	44	Shapinsay
	Alexander Craigie	Quarryman	58	Egilsay
	Barbara “	Wife	50	Westray
	George “	Son	12	Shapinsay
	Janet “	Daughter	10	“
	Ann “	Daughter	7	“
	John Learmonth	Quarryman	42	Sanday
	John Spence	Farm Servant	31	Eday
	Barbara “	Wife	34	Sanday
	Barbara “	Daughter	8	Kirkwall
	Margaret “	Daughter	4	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	1	“
	John Cutt	Agricultural Labourer	38	North Ronaldsay
	Jessie “	Wife	36	“
	John “	Son	10	Orphir
	Thomas “	Son	9	“
	Robert “	Son	5	Shapinsay
	George Sinclair	Retired Farmer	76	Sanday
	Betsy “	Wife	71	Shapinsay
	John Liddle	Gardener	48	Kirkwall
	Catherine “	Wife	51	Shapinsay
	David “	Son	15	“
	William “	Son	11	“
	John Sclater	Farm Servant	25	Sanday
	Jessie “	Wife	28	South Ronaldsay
	Eric “	Son	2	Kirkwall
	James “	Father & Quarryman	66	Sanday
	Mary “	Mother	58	“
	Richard Towers	Agricultural Labourer	37	“
	Rebecca “	Wife	35	Rousay
	Isabella “	Daughter	7	Stronsay
	William “	Son	5	“
	Thomas “	Son	4	“
	Barbara “	Daughter	1	Shapinsay

Balfour Village (cont.)	Barbara Stevenson	Widow	60	"	
	James "	Son & Carpenter	37	"	
	William "	Son & Boatbuilder	35	"	
	Thomas "	Son & Boatbuilder	32	"	
	Thomas Rendall	Agricultural Labourer	80	Shapinsay	
	Mary "	Wife	54	"	
	Magnus Williamson	Grocer	58	"	
	Jessie "	Wife	49	"	
	Jessie "	Daughter	24	"	
	John Scott	Cabinetmaker	44	Holm	
	Jane "	Wife	40	Kirkwall	
	John "	Son & Carpenter	18	"	
Burnside	Peter "	Son	17	"	
	Jane "	Daughter	14	Shapinsay	
	Mary "	Daughter	8	"	
	Jane "	Mother	88	Holm	
	Jane Linklater	Mother-in-law	67	Shapinsay	
	Donald McIntosh	Drainer	44	Wick	
	Isabella "	Wife	46	"	
	George "	Son	16	Shapinsay	
	David "	Son	13	"	
	John "	Son	11	"	
	Janet "	Mother	89	Wick	
	William Laughton	Tailor	75	Kirkwall	
Mount Pleasant	Mary "	Wife	76	"	
	Elizabeth "	Daughter & Dressmaker	35	Shapinsay	
	Christina Phimster	Widow	44	Wick	
	Mary Cooper	Domestic Servant	17	Shapinsay	
	Margaret Russell	Widow	83	North Ronaldsay	
	Isabella "	Daughter & Agr. Lab.	40	"	
	William Turfus	Son	1	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth Work	Spinster	66	"	
	Peter Maxwell	Farmer	51	Stronsay	
	Margaret "	Wife	67	Sanday	
	Peter "	Son & Seaman	27	Shapinsay	
	James "	Son & Boatbuilder	22	"	
Barebraes	John "	Son	13	"	
	John Skea	Farmer	65	"	
	Isabella "	Wife	64	Evie	
	John "	Son	22	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth Sutherland	Granddaughter	17	Stromness	
	Thomas Russell	Farmer	73	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Wife	69	"	
	Thomas "	Son	44	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	41	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	27	"	
	Thomas Russell	Farmer	73	Shapinsay	
	Margaret "	Wife	69	"	
Greenwall (40 acres)	Thomas "	Son	44	"	
	Margaret "	Daughter	41	"	
	Janet "	Daughter	27	"	
	Peter Bews	Farmer	70	"	U.P.

(35 acres)	Mary “	Wife	73	Evie	
	Mary “	Daughter	42	Shapinsay	
Garth (cont.)	William Bews	Son	40	Shapinsay	
	James “	Son	35	“	
	Betsy “	Daughter	25	“	
Waltness	William Heddle	Farm Manager	41	“	
(240 acres)	Isabella “	Wife	24	Eday	
	William “	Son	3	Shapinsay	
	Robert “	Son	3	Gairsay	
	John “	Son	2 months	Shapinsay	
	Ann Jones	Domestic Servant	28	“	
	John Yorston	Farm Servant	25	Egilsay	
	Charles Dunnett	Farm Servant	19	Shapinsay	
	William Corrigan	Farm Servant	16	Finstown	
Furrowend	Thomas Laughton	Farmer	62	Shapinsay	U.P.
(27 acres)	Catherine “	Wife	63	“	“
	Izat “	Son	22	“	
‘twa-beeld’	John Swanney	Fisherman	30	Eday	
	Margaret “	Wife	30	Shapinsay	
	John “	Son	3	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	2	“	
Rosecraigie	James Work	Farmer	66	“	
(50 acres)	Helen “	Wife	67	Fair Isle	
	Margaret “	Daughter	27	Shapinsay	
	Jane “	Granddaughter	7	“	
	William “	Grandson	6	“	
	James Mouat	Farm Servant	19	South Ronaldsay	
Westhill	John Campbell	Shepherd	36	Thurso	
	Betsy “	Wife	26	South Ronaldsay	
	John “	Son	4	Shapinsay	
	David	Son	2	“	
	William Cormack	Farm Servant	47	Kirkwall	
	Jane “	Wife	51	Stronsay	
	James Peace	Father-in-law	70	“	
	Margaret Work	Widow	32	Westray	
	Margaret “	Daughter	2	Shapinsay	
Balfour Mains	Sinclair McAdie	Grieve	44	Bower	
(550 acres)	Jane “	Wife	42	Halkirk	
	Robertina “	Daughter	12	Shapinsay	
	John “	Son	10	“	
	William “	Son	8	“	
	Donald “	Son	6	“	
	John Laughton	Farm Servant	25	“	
	Jane “	Wife	25	Orphir	
	John “	Son	2	Shapinsay	
	Eliza Reid	Farm Servant	25	Westray	
	Christina Bews	Farm Servant	25	Shapinsay	
	Robert Stevenson	Farm Servant	21	“	
	Elizabeth Russell	Farm Servant	19	“	
	Margaret Maxwell	Farm Servant	19	“	
	Mary Walls	Farm Servant	17	“	
	William Cormack	Farm Servant	17	Kirkwall	

Crossgates (38 acres)	Magnus Hutchison	Farmer	33	Shapinsay
	Frances “	Wife	31	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	9	“
	Frances “	Daughter	6	“
	Mary “	Daughter	1	“
	James “	Father & Retired Farmer	74	“
	Marion “	Sister	46	“
	Isabella “	Sister	30	“
	James McAdie	Grandson	13	“
Newhouse	Jane Russell	Grocer	40	Eday
	Margaret “	Daughter	16	Sandwick
	Magnus “	Son	12	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	8	Finstown
Astley Cottage	Henry Willetts	R.A. Sergeant	39	England
	Sarah “	Wife	36	“
	James “	Son	13	“
	George “	Son	10	Dumbarton
	Charles “	Son	8	“
	Emma “	Daughter	9 months	Shapinsay
	Alexander Eunson	Domestic Servant	17	Fair Isle
Hewan (90 acres)	Samuel Russell	Farmer	38	Shapinsay
	Jane “	Wife	39	Rousay
	Samuel “	Son	12	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	10	“
	David “	Son	4	“
E.U. Manse	William Craig	Minister	62	England
	Mary “	Wife	49	Thurso
	Sibella “	Daughter	19	Anstruther
	Michael “	Son	15	Carluke
	Mary Rendall	Domestic Servant	24	Westray
Chapel Brae (16 acres)	Isabella Heddle	Farmer	65	Stronsay
	Isabella “	Daughter	26	Shapinsay
	Malcolm Nicolson	Agricultural Labourer	63	“
Courthall	James Drever	Shoemaker	37	“
	Isabella “	Wife	41	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	12	“
	James “	Son	10	“
	Mary “	Daughter	6	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	3	“
	Isabella Russell	Mother-in-law	85	Sanday
	James Gullion	Tailor	39	Eday
	Isabella “	Wife	35	“
	James “	Son	8	Kirkwall
	John “	Son	1	Shapinsay
Wardhill (30 acres)	Thomas Thompson	Farmer	52	North Ronaldsay
	Ann “	Wife	34	“
	Ann “	Daughter	12	“
	John “	Son	5	Shapinsay
	Jane “	Daughter	5	“
Wardhill (cont.)	Thomas Thompson	Son	3	Shapinsay
	Mary Muir	Mother-in-law & Midwife	52	North Ronaldsay

Barebraes	Thomas Russell	Agricultural Labourer	50	Shapinsay
	Euphemia “	Wife	51	South Ronaldsay
	William “	Son & Agricultural Lab.	17	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	11	“
Braefoot	Thomas Omand	Boat-carpenter	34	Eday
	Ann “	Wife	31	“
	Robert “	Son & Fisherman	12	“
Roadside (16 acres)	William Harcus	Farmer	59	Faray
	Isabella “	Wife	53	Eday
	Adam “	Son	18	“
Hestowall (20 acres)	John Hourston	Farmer	38	“
	Mary “	Wife	37	Sanday
	John “	Son & Fisherman	17	Eday
	Barbara “	Daughter	13	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	11	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	8	“
	James “	Son	4	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	3	“
	William “	Son	1	“
Newfield (96 acres)	James Bews	Farmer	29	Eday
	Mary “	Wife	32	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	7	“
	Mary “	Daughter	5	“
	Alexander “	Son	4	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	2	“
	John “	Son	2 months	“
	Mary Leonard	Domestic Servant	24	Finstown
Rose Cottage (20 acres)	Henry Jeffrey	Farmer & Grocer	50	England
	Margaret “	Wife	40	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	9	England
	Thomas “	Son	7	Shapinsay
	Henry “	Son	4	“
Inkerman (30 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	62	“
	Esther “	Wife	61	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	29	“
	William “	Son	22	“
	David “	Son	19	“
Lucknow (60 acres)	Robert Sinclair	Farmer	50	Sanday
	Esther “	Wife	54	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	23	“
	James “	Son	21	“
	Robert “	Son	18	“
	William “	Son & Boat-carpenter	17	“
	Jane “	Daughter	14	“
	Esther “	Daughter	8	“
Sandsend (30 acres)	Robert Sinclair	Farmer	77	Stronsay
	Mary-Ann “	Wife	75	Shapinsay
	John “	Son & Fisherman	38	Stronsay
	William “	Son	34	Shapinsay



	Jane “	Daughter	34	“	
	Catherine Johnson	boarder	10	Faroe	
Skoenstoft (43 acres)	Thomas Mouat	Farmer	51	Stronsay	
	Christina “	Wife	48	Shapinsay	
	Thomas “	Son	22	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	13	“	
	James “	Brother & Shoemaker	41	“	
	Isabella “	Niece	19	“	
	John “	Nephew	17	“	
Lochend (10 acres)	John Work	Farmer	71	“	E.U.
	Elizabeth “	Wife	65	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	24	“	
	William Marcus	Fisherman	26	Eday	E.U.
	Elizabeth “	Wife	29	Shapinsay	
	William “	Son	7	“	
Swartaquoy (40 acres)	Jane Groat	Farmer	64	“	
	Thomas “	Son	36	“	
	Jemima “	Wife	34	“	
	Eliza “	Daughter	22	“	
	William “	Grandson	7	“	
	Jane “	Granddaughter	3	“	
	William Learmonth	Grandson	12	“	
East Laro (40 acres)	John Benslow	Farmer	61	Eday	
	Barbara “	Wife	61	Stronsay	
	Mary Gullion	Widow	72	Westray	
Cotbrae	John Shearer	Fisherman	34	Eday	
	Mary “	Wife	37	“	
	John “	Son	10	“	
	Mary-Ann “	Daughter	5	Shapinsay	
Quoybanks (40 acres)	James Allan	Farmer	35	Eday	
	Jane “	Wife	29	Shapinsay	
	Jane “	Daughter	10	“	
	William “	Son	8	“	
	James “	Son	7	“	
	David “	Son	3	“	
	Eliza “	Mother	71	Deerness	
	Jane “	Niece	3	Shapinsay	
Aith	John Jones	Agricultural Labourer	58	Kirkwall	
	Barbara “	Wife	61	Shapinsay	
	Samuel “	Son & Fisherman	17	“	
Trattleton	Charles Matches	Farm Servant	42	Holm	
	Ann “	Wife	41	South Ronaldsay	
	David “	Son	11	“	
	Ann “	Daughter	9	“	
Trattleton (cont.)	Charles Matches	Son	7	South Ronaldsay	
Odinstone (200 acres)	Thomas Rendall	Farm Manager	56	Stronsay	
	Margaret “	Wife	47	Shapinsay	
	William “	Son & Joiner	20	“	
	David “	Son	17	“	

	James	"	Son	13	"
	Agnes	"	Daughter	10	"
	John	"	Son	2	"
	Mary Burger		Domestic Servant	23	Westray
West Laro (30 acres)	Thomas Swanney		Farmer	57	North Ronaldsay
	Jane	"	Wife	57	Lerwick
	Thomas	"	Son & Fisherman	34	Eday
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter-in-law	34	Shapinsay
	Ann	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	24	Eday
	Thomas	"	Grandson	8	Shapinsay
	William	"	Grandson	7	"
	John	"	Grandson	5	"
	David	"	Grandson	3	"
	Peter	"	Grandson	1	"
	William Reid		Farm Servant	13	"
Strathore (200 acres)	James Robertson		Farmer	30	Stronsay
	William Jolly		Farm Servant	45	Stonehaven
	Margaret	"	Wife & Housekeeper	48	Shapinsay
	William	"	Son	12	"
	John	"	Son	10	"
	Christina	"	Daughter	7	"
	Sarah Swanney		Farm Servant	25	North Ronaldsay
	Mary	"	Daughter	7	"
	Charles Peace		Farm Servant	22	Eday
Burnhouse	Thomas Nicolson		Retired Farmer	80	Shapinsay
	Margaret	"	Daughter	49	"
Buhouse (30 acres)	Malcolm Heddle		Farmer	33	"
	Annabella	"	Wife	31	Orphir
	John		Son	7	Shapinsay
	Isabella	"	Daughter	5	"
	Malcolm	"	Son	3	"
	James	"	Son	1	"
Parkhall (60 acres)	William Bews		Farmer	60	"
	Barbara	"	Sister	57	"
	Mary	"	Wife	49	"
	William	"	Son & Fisherman	30	"
	Samuel	"	Son	16	"
	Mary	"	Granddaughter	8	"
	William	"	Grandson	6	"
	David	"	Grandson	5	"
	Magnus	"	Father & Retired Farmer	88	"
	Elizabeth Leslie		Domestic Servant	26	Westray
Housequoy	Margaret Heddle		Widow	89	"
Mossbank (15 acres)	John Irvine		Farmer	65	Lerwick
	Mary	"	Wife	61	Eday
	David	"	Son & Fisherman	35	"
	Ann	"	Daughter-in-law	31	Flotta
	Laurence	"	Son	16	Eday
	David	"	Grandson	3	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth	"	Granddaughter	1	"

Flakimoss (36 acres)	Sinclair Dunnett	Farmer	45	Canisbay
	Mary “	Wife	44	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	14	“
	Jane “	Daughter	7	“
	Ann Heddle	Grandmother	88	“
	Margaret “	Mother-in-law	73	“
	Jane “	Aunt	67	“
Balaclava (80 acres)	Esther Russell	Farmer	45	“
	Mary “	Daughter	19	“
	Margaret Work	Sister	50	“
	Margaret Peace	Domestic Servant	43	“
	David Laughton	Farm Servant	32	“
	Jane “	Wife	29	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	3	“
	David “	Son	1	“
	Jessie Woodrow	Domestic Servant	11	Edinburgh
Elwickbank (200 acres)	Marcus Calder	Factor & Farmer	54	Scotsclader
	Simon Leitch	Grieve	35	Duffus
	Margaret Scott	Domestic Servant	53	Thrumster
	Jane “	Daughter & Domestic S.	24	England
	Daniel Johnstone	Clerk	23	Thurso
Cottages	William Duncan	Clerk	40	South Ronaldsay
	Jane “	Wife	33	“
	Ann “	Daughter	11	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	9	Kirkwall
	William “	Son	7	“
	Jane “	Daughter	4	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	2	“
	Ann Laughton	Mother-in-law	58	South Ronaldsay
	Agnes Wilson	Domestic Servant	27	Fair Isle
Elwick (25 acres)	David Laughton	Farmer	52	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth “	Wife	53	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	24	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	21	“
	Janet Liddle	Sister-in-law	57	“
	John Drever	Kilnsman	25	“
	James Yorston	Farm Servant	25	Egilsay
	Robert Work	Miller	22	Shapinsay
Stye (200 acres)	Peter Campbell	Farm Manager	44	Wick
	Ann “	Wife	48	Deerness
	Robert “	Son	15	Shapinsay
	Donald “	Son & Shepherd	13	“
	Mary “	Daughter	10	Shapinsay
Stye (cont.)	Margaret Campbell	Daughter	8	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	6	“
	Hughina McIntyre	Farm Servant	36	Evie
	John Dishan	Son	10	“
	Isabella Mouat	Farm Servant	23	South Ronaldsay
	William Nicolson	Farm Servant	19	Shapinsay
Little Stye	Thomas Towers	Agricultural Labourer	46	Sanday
	Jane “	Wife	48	Stronsay
	Thomas “	Son	14	Kirkwall

	James “	Son	14	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	10	Stenness
	Jane “	Daughter	6	Shapinsay
Parochial School	George Hepburn	Schoolmaster	51	“
	Isabella “	Wife	47	Eday
	George “	Son & Ass. Schoolmaster	22	Kirkwall
	William “	Son	14	“
	Peter “	Son	11	“
	Mary Drever	Domestic Servant	47	Shapinsay
U.P. Manse	Henry Fleming	Minister	32	Ulster
	Margaret “	Wife	31	“
	James “	Son	1	Shapinsay
	Mary Shearer	Domestic Servant	24	“
Brecks (40 acres)	John Smith	Farmer	84	Westray
	Helen “	Wife	81	Shapinsay
	Thomas “	Son	56	“
	Margaret Thomson	Farm Servant	18	Stronsay
C. of S. Manse	Elizabeth Harcus	Domestic Servant	27	Eday
	Ellen Dyer	Domestic Servant	18	Stromness
Manse Cottages	Peter Shearer	Farm Servant	36	Stronsay
	Ann “	Wife	35	“
	Peter “	Son	13	“
	David “	Son	10	Sanday
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	8	Shapinsay
	Barbara “	Daughter	7	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	5	“
	John “	Son	3	“
	Andrew “	Son	8 months	“
	Elizabeth Leslie	Mother-in-law	68	Lerwick
Hannatoft (110 acres)	Mary-Ann Work	Farmer	60	Shapinsay
	Peter “	Son	22	“
	Jane “	Daughter	20	“
	Thomas “	Son	15	“
	Ann “	Daughter	13	“
	Ann Hepburn	Sister	60	“
	Christopher Nicolson	Farmer	30	“
Joint Tenancy	Mary “	Wife	30	“
	Mary-Ann “	Daughter	2	“
	Christopher “	Son	1	“
	Samuel Inkster	Farm Servant	17	Eynhallow
Hannatoft (cont.)	Barbara Harcus	Farm Servant	15	Eday
Grassquoy (14 acres)	John Sinclair	Farmer	49	Sanday
	Margaret “	Wife	49	“
	Jane “	Daughter	14	Shapinsay
	Ann “	Daughter	11	“
	William “	Son	7	“
	John Deerness	Father-in-law & Fisherman	75	Sanday
	Margaret “	Mother-in-law	76	“
Ostoft (20 acres)	David Skea	Farmer	57	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Wife	63	“

	Isabella “	Daughter	26	“
	John “	Son & Carpenter	17	“
	John “	Father & Retired Farmer	89	“
	Cecilia “	Sister	54	“
	Elizabeth Campbell	visitor	2	“
Lufaness (25 acres)	John Hepburn	Farmer	52	“
	Margaret “	Wife	47	Orphir
	Margaret “	Daughter	21	Shapinsay
	Peter “	Son	16	“
	John “	Son	14	“
	Thomas “	Son	11	“
Bashan	Thomas Flett	Agricultural Labourer	58	“
Houseby (20 acres)	William Flett	Farmer	72	“
	Jane “	Wife	75	“
	Charles Heddle	Son-in-law & Fisherman	28	“
	Jane “	Daughter	34	“
	Isabella “	Granddaughter	10	“
	William “	Grandson	9	“
	Jane “	Granddaughter	7	“
	Elizabeth “	Granddaughter	6	“
	Ellen “	Granddaughter	4	“
	James “	Grandson	2	“
	Barbara “	Granddaughter	8 months	“
	Ellen “	Niece	23	“
Howe (110 acres)	Hugh Craigie	Farmer	46	Egilsay
	Ellen “	Wife	37	Wick
	William “	Brother	32	Shapinsay
	Agnes “	Sister-in-law	24	Deerness
	Ellen “	Niece	11	Shapinsay
	Marjory “	Niece	9	“
	Hugh “	Nephew	6	“
	Henry “	Nephew	3	“
	Margaret Hourston	Aunt	75	Egilsay
	Mary “	Cousin & Farm Servant	16	Eday
	Alexander Leask	Fisherman	39	Wyre
	Marjory “	Wife	42	Egilsay
	Hugh “	Son	14	Shapinsay
	Christina Shearer	Domestic Servant	22	“
	John Work	Farm Servant	15	“
Busgar	David Scott	Fisherman	32	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Wife	31	“
	John “	Son	9	“
	Mary “	Daughter	8	“
	James “	Son	6	“
	Thomas “	Son	4	“
	Ann “	Daughter	1	“
	William “	Son	2 months	“
	Mary Hepburn	Farm Servant	58	“
Hollandsgarth (43 acres)	Magnus Craigie	Farmer	49	Egilsay
	Elizabeth “	Wife	40	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	22	“
	William “	Son	18	“



	John	"	Son	16	"
	Barbara	"	Daughter	14	"
	David	"	Son	8	"
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	1	"
	James Hepburn		Retired Farmer	73	"
Steaquoy (34 acres)	James Reid		Farmer	41	"
	Christina	"	Sister & Dressmaker	47	"
	Mary	"	Sister	40	"
	Elizabeth	"	Sister	38	"
	Johanna	"	Wife	27	Eday
	Christina	"	Mother	73	Shapinsay
Quoymoorhouse (65 acres)	John Scott		Farmer	75	"
	Christina	"	Wife	69	"
	John	"	Son	40	"
	Mary	"	Daughter-in-law	39	"
	John	"	Grandson	15	"
	James	"	Grandson	13	"
	Mary	"	Granddaughter	12	"
	William	"	Grandson	6	"
	William	"	Son	39	"
	Mary	"	Daughter-in-law	39	South Ronaldsay
	William	"	Grandson	7	Shapinsay
	John	"	Grandson	6	"
	Robert	"	Grandson	4	"
	David	"	Grandson	3	"
	James	"	Grandson	1	"
	James	"	Son & Fisherman	36	"
	Jane	"	Daughter-in-law	34	Evie
	James	"	Grandson	9	Shapinsay
	Jane	"	Granddaughter	7	"
	John	"	Grandson	5	"
	Sarah	"	Granddaughter	3	"
	Mary-Ann	"	Granddaughter	9 months	"
	Margaret Omand		Domestic Servant	17	"
	Margaret Wedder		Domestic Servant	17	Deerness
Tew (14 acres)	John Nicolson		Farmer	51	Shapinsay
	Janet	"	Wife	46	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	16	"
	John	"	Son	14	"
Tew (cont.)	William Nicolson		Son	7	Shapinsay
	James	"	Father & Blacksmith	94	"
	Margaret	"	Mother	89	"
	Margaret	"	Sister	63	"
	Elizabeth	"	Sister	46	"
Purtaquoy (15 acres)	Magnus Michael		Farmer	47	"
	Thomas	"	Brother & Seaman	45	"
	Mary	"	Farmer's Wife	30	Stromness
	Mary	"	Daughter	9	Shapinsay
	William	"	Son	8	"
	Magnus	"	Son	6	"
	May	"	Daughter	4	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	3	"
	Christina	"	Daughter	5 months	"
	Magnus	"	Father	72	"

	May “	Mother	75	“
	Sarah Shearer	Farm Servant	16	“
Sanger (28 acres)	John Irvine	Farmer	79	“
	Christina “	Wife	73	“
	John “	Son & Fisherman	52	“
	Margaret “	Daughter-in-law	41	“
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	6	“
	John “	Grandson	4	“
	Mary “	Granddaughter	2	“
	James “	Son & Fisherman	43	“
	Isabella “	Daughter-in-law	45	“
	Isabella “	Granddaughter	11	“
	John “	Grandson	8	“
	Jean Shearer	Farm Servant	18	“
Little Sanger (15 acres)	John Drummond	Farmer	60	“
	Ellen “	Wife	57	“
	William “	Son	18	“
Mounthoolie (30 acres)	Edward Nicolson	Farmer	55	“
	William “	Father	89	“
	Janet “	Sister	61	“
	Margaret “	Niece	24	Holm
Hacosness (10 acres)	Charles Moodie	Farmer	40	Sanday
	Margaret “	Wife	50	“
	Andrew “	Son	16	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	14	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	12	“
	John “	Son	10	“
	James “	Son	8	“
Hilligeo (5 acres)	Margaret Work	Farmer	81	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	38	“
Luckston (5 acres)	James Michael	Farmer	41	Aberdeen
	Catherine “	Wife	43	Shapinsay
	Christina “	Daughter	14	“
	James “	Son	13	“
Luckston (cont.)	Margaret Michael	Daughter	11	Shapinsay
	Catherine “	Daughter	9	“
	Thomas “	Son	3	“
	Mary “	Daughter	4 months	“
Newlot (10 acres)	Samuel Hepburn	Farmer	38	“
	Elizabeth “	Wife	37	“
	Samuel “	Son	10	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	8	“
	John “	Son	4	“
	John “	Father & Boat-carpenter	81	“
	Elizabeth “	Sister	59	“
Sandston (8 acres)	James Work	Farmer	38	“
	Ann “	Wife	44	Stronsay
	Ann “	Daughter	12	Kirkwall
	Janet “	Daughter	10	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	7	“

	Jane Leslie	Domestic Servant	24	Westray
Scarpigarth (5 acres)	John Work	Farmer	41	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Wife	41	"
	Thomas "	Son	13	"
	Magnus "	Son	8	"
Babylon	John Work	Retired Farmer	81	Kirkwall
	Barbara "	Wife	71	"
Lingro (40 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	57	Shapinsay E.U.
	Mary "	Wife	58	"
	James "	Brother & Stonemason	59	"
	William "	Son	23	"
	Thomas "	Son & Stonemason	19	"
	Ellen "	Daughter	11	"
	John Shearer	Son-in-law & Fisherman	27	"
	Mary "	Daughter	21	"
	Christina Russell	Spinster	51	"
Comely Bank (20 acres)	Magnus Hutchison	Farmer	75	"
	Barbara "	Wife	62	Fair Isle
	Marjory Irvine	Sister-in-law	56	"
	John Shearer	Farm Servant	15	Shapinsay
Brecks (45 acres)	William Work	Farmer	56	"
	Betsy "	Wife	41	Sandwick
	James "	Son	15	Shapinsay
	William "	Son	13	"
	David "	Son	11	"
	Robert "	Son	8	"
	John "	Son	3	"
	Ellen "	Sister & Net-maker	59	"
	Catherine "	Sister-in-law	42	Sandwick
	James "	Brother-in-law	35	Shapinsay
Veantraw (25 acres) Veantraw (cont.)	Thomas Irvine	Farmer	41	"
	Rebecca "	Wife	33	Eday
	Mary Irvine	Daughter	10 months	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Mother	85	"
	James Nicolson	Step-son	10	"
Girnigeo (35 acres)	William Drever	Farmer	37	"
	Sibella "	Wife	36	North Ronaldsay
	Margaret "	Daughter	10	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	1	"
	Margaret "	Sister	55	"
	John "	Brother	50	"
Quholm (30 acres)	Magnus Irvine	Farmer	73	"
	Elizabeth "	Wife	63	"
	Betsy Nicolson	Granddaughter	20	"
	James "	Grandson	17	"
	William Sketheway	Farm Servant	15	"
	Barbara Shearer	Domestic Servant	10	"
Caskald (50 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	69	"
	Margaret "	Wife	66	"

	Margaret "	Niece	36	"
	Henry Nicolson	Farm Servant	35	"
	William Sketheway	Farm Servant	15	"
Edmeston (20 acres)	William Irvine	Farmer	36	Eday
	Barbara "	Wife	36	"
	William "	Son	5	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Daughter	3	"
	James "	Son	6 months	"
	Margaret Omand	Domestic Servant	18	Eday
Nether Bigging (40 acres)	Magnus Michael	Farmer	55	Shapinsay
	Janet "	Wife	42	"
	Jessie "	Daughter	23	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	16	"
	Agnes "	Daughter	13	"
	Mary "	Daughter	8	"
	John "	Father	82	"
	Janet "	Sister	57	"
	Margaret "	Sister	52	"
	Robert Drever	Farm Servant	18	"
Upper Bigging (10 acres)	John Bews	Farmer	19	"
	Mary "	Mother	56	"
Ha'quoy (80 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	41	"
	Catherine "	Mother	70	"
	John Robertson	Farm Servant	26	Rousay
	Isabella Mouat	Domestic Servant	25	Birsay
	William Cutt	Farm Servant	20	Eday
	Isabella Sketheway	Dairymaid	18	Shapinsay
Sholtoquoy (30 acres)	William Swanney	Farmer	46	"
	Margaret "	Sister	44	"
	John "	Father	82	"
	Robert Heddle	Ploughman	31	"
Sholtoquoy (cont.)	Margaret Hutchison	Domestic Servant	14	Shapinsay
Vedesquoy (40 acres)	William Nicolson	Farmer	70	"
	Isabella "	Wife	68	Rendall
	Isabella "	Daughter	27	Shapinsay
	John "	Son	24	"
Ness (110 acres)	William Dennison	Farmer	45	"
	Mary "	Wife	36	"
	John "	Son	9	"
	Isabella "	Daughter	7	"
	William "	Son	5	"
	James "	Son	3	"
	Robert "	Son	1	"
	David Foubister	Farm Servant	37	Gairsay
	David Swanney	Farm Servant	37	Eday
	Christina Omand	Domestic Servant	29	"
	Janet Tulloch	Domestic Servant	26	North Ronaldsay
Quoys (38 acres)	John Hay	Farmer	35	Golspie
	Jane "	Wife	33	Sanday
	William "	Son	7	Shapinsay

	Margaret “	Daughter	5	“
	Thomas Walls	Farm Servant	15	Eday
Headgeo (25 acres)	William Drever	Farmer	37	Shapinsay
	Christina “	Wife	40	“
	Mary Thomson	Domestic Servant	15	North Ronaldsay
	Margaret Wilson	visitor	29	Sanday
	Emma Maxwell	visitor	1	Shapinsay
Nisthouse (20 acres)	David Inkster	Farmer	32	Eynhallow
	Mary “	Wife	28	Kirkwall
	Mary “	Mother	64	Rousay
	Hugh “	Brother & Fisherman	25	Eynhallow
	Mary “	Sister	22	“
	Sarah “	Sister	19	“
Easthouse (24 acres)	William Irvine	Farmer	37	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth “	Wife	40	“
	William “	Son	12	“
	John “	Son	10	“
	Mary “	Daughter	5	“
	James “	Son	1	“
Midhouse (40 acres)	John Inkster	Farmer	37	Eynhallow
	Isabella “	Wife	32	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	11	“
Stenso	William Work	Fisherman	27	“
	Jane “	Wife	24	Westray
Diggings (40 acres)	James Work	Farmer	67	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	36	“
	Magnus “	Son & Fisherman	31	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter-in-law	26	Eday
Diggings (cont.)	Betsy Work	Granddaughter	6	Shapinsay
	James “	Grandson	4	“
	Mary “	Granddaughter	2	“
Geostane (29 acres)	Malcolm Nicolson	Farmer	35	“
	Jane “	Wife	28	“
	William “	Son	7	“
	Jane “	Daughter	4	“
	Mary “	Daughter	10 months	“
	Bessie Russell	Domestic Servant	15	“
Whitecleat (40 acres)	Magnus Work	Farmer	65	“
	Jane “	Wife	62	“
	James “	Son	36	“
	Jessie “	Daughter-in-law	24	Eday
	Magnus “	Grandson	1	Shapinsay
	Jane “	Daughter	28	“
	Mary Rosie	Domestic Servant	16	Eday
Kirkhill (70 acres)	Robert Kemp	Farmer	22	Kincardine O’Neil
	Mary “	Sister	20	“
	James “	Brother	18	“
	William “	Brother	14	Shapinsay
	Jane “	Sister	12	“



	John “	Brother	10	“	
	Margaret “	Sister	8	“	
	David “	Brother	3	“	
	Jane “	Mother	45	Kincardine O’Niel	
Linton (35 Acres)	James Hepburn	Farmer	35	Shapinsay	
	Mary “	Mother	62	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	11	“	
	Margaret Sinclair	Domestic Servant	23	Sanday	
	James Sketheway	Farm Servant	14	Shapinsay	
Furstigarth (30 acres)	James Meason	Farmer	66	“	U.P.
	Elizabeth “	Wife	62	“	
	James “	Son & Fisherman	40	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	29	“	
	Janet “	Daughter	26	“	
	David “	Son & Joiner	18	“	
	James “	Grandson	13	“	
Greenataing (20 acres)	Robert Shearer	Farmer	37	Eday	E.U.
	Jane “	Wife	33	“	
	James “	Son	5	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	3	“	
	William “	Son	3 months	“	
Waterhouse (20 acres)	William Liddle	Farmer	62	Kirkwall	
	Jane “	Wife	55	Westray	
	Charlotte Gunn	Domestic Servant	21	“	
	John Bews	Blacksmith	33	Eday	
	Betsy “	Wife	26	Shapinsay	
Pictou Pictou (cont.)	John Allan	Fisherman	39	Eday	
	Christina Allan	Wife	37	Eday	
	Jessie “	Daughter	11	Shapinsay	
	William “	Son	8	“	
	Alexina “	Daughter	4	“	
	Jane “	Daughter	3	“	
Haughland	James Sketheway	Fisherman	42	“	
	Isabella “	Wife	43	“	
	John “	Son	11	“	
	Margaret Shearer	Mother-in-law	85	“	
Petra	William Sketheway	Fisherman	55	“	
	Elizabeth “	Wife	43	“	
	Isabella “	Daughter	12	“	
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	8	“	
	Mary “	Daughter	4	“	
Burnside (20 acres)	John Shearer	Farmer	44	“	
	Jane “	Wife	37	“	
	William “	Son	13	“	
	Jane “	Daughter	11	“	
	Sarah “	Daughter	9	“	
	Margaret “	Daughter	7	“	
	David “	Son	5	“	
	Helen “	Daughter	4	“	
	Isabella “	Daughter	2	“	

	Mary	“	Daughter	1	“	
Pekin (15 acres)	Thomas Shearer		Farmer	57	“	E.U.
	Christina	“	Wife	56	“	
	James	“	Son & Fisherman	16	“	
	William	“	Son	14	“	
Little Feaston (10 acres)	William Work		Farmer	53	“	
	Margaret	“	Wife	51	Eday	
	William	“	Son & Fisherman	24	Shapinsay	
	Margaret	“	Daughter-in-law	20	“	
	Elizabeth	“	Granddaughter	9	“	
	Mary Drever		Daughter	28	“	
	William	“	Grandson	2	Leith	
Feaston (20 acres)	Magnus Shearer		Farmer	61	Shapinsay	
	Christina	“	Wife	53	Sanday	
	Magnus	“	Son	29	Shapinsay	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	27	“	
	John	“	Son & Joiner	20	“	
	Thomas	“	Son	14	Kirkwall	
	William	“	Son	9	Shapinsay	
	Catherine	“	Sister & Knitter	62	“	
Little Gorn	William Lovat		Blacksmith	32	St. Andrews	
	Mary	“	Wife	26	“	
Fuag (20 acres)	James Shearer		Farmer	40	Shapinsay	
	Mary	“	Wife	34	Eday	
	Mary	“	Daughter	14	Kirkwall	
Fuag (cont.)	Margaret Shearer		Daughter	12	Shapinsay	
	Jessie	“	Daughter	8	“	
	Jemima	“	Daughter	5	“	
Braeholland (30 acres)	William Michael		Farmer	56	“	
	Mary	“	Wife	56	“	
	Margaret	“	Daughter & Dressmaker	29	“	
	James	“	Son & Seaman	26	“	
	Mary	“	Daughter	24	“	
	John	“	Son & Joiner	19	“	
New Gorn	William Work		Carpenter	44	“	
	Jane	“	Wife	44	Finstown	
	Margaret	“	Daughter	16	Shapinsay	
	Elizabeth	“	Daughter	14	“	
Monquhanny (145 acres)	James Reid		Farmer	72	“	E.U.
	Janet	“	Wife	73	“	
	James	“	Son & Carpenter	36	“	
	David	“	Son & Cattle-dealer	33	“	
	Isabella	“	Daughter-in-law	34	“	
	Jane	“	Daughter	25	“	
	Margaret	“	Granddaughter	10	“	
	Jemima	“	Granddaughter	7	“	
	David	“	Grandson	4	“	
	Margaret Thompson		Domestic Servant	30	Hoy	
	Charles Anderson		Farm Servant	23	Stromness	
	Cecillie Sclater		Domestic Servant	17	“	

	John Archibald	Farm Servant	16	"
Cleat (40 acres)	James Work	Farmer	59	Shapinsay
	Catherine "	Wife	58	Stronsay
	Jane "	Daughter	35	Shapinsay
	James "	Son & Fisherman	32	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	25	"
	William "	Son	22	"
Bonnyhill	Alexander Gunn	Chelsea Pensioner	51	Reay
	Margaret "	wife	44	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Daughter	7	"
	William "	Son	5	"
	Jane "	Daughter	2	"
Ha'brake E.U.	James Hutchison	Agricultural Labourer	41	"
	Elizabeth "	Wife	40	"
	William "	Son	13	"
	James "	Son	11	"
	John "	Son	9	"
	Magnus "	Son	6	"
	Peter "	Son	4	"
	Robert "	Son	2	"
Northhill (37 acres)	William Hepburn	Farmer	50	"
	Margaret "	Wife	46	"
	Christina "	Daughter & Seamstress	23	"
	William "	Son	20	Shapinsay
Northhill (cont.)	Margaret Hepburn	Daughter	17	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Daughter	13	"
	Robert "	Son	11	"
Hillside (25 acres)	Jessie Reid	Farmer	44	Westray
	John "	Son	12	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Daughter	8	"
	James "	Son	5	"
Society School	David Hepburn	Schoolmaster	56	"
	Mary "	Wife	43	"
	Mary "	Daughter	6	"
	Jane "	Daughter	4	"
Girls' School	Margaret Smith	Schoolmistress	48	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	18	"
	John "	Son	12	"

Total Population 948

1881

Balfour Castle	David Balfour	Proprietor	69	Shapinsay
	Eleanor "	Wife	70	Eyemouth
	Eliza Leslie	Domestic Servant	50	Sanday
	Mary Merriman	Cook	49	Birsay

	Annie Smith	Lady's maid	44	Edinburgh
	James Tait	Footman	22	Shapinsay
	Mary Hourston	Domestic Servant	21	Finstown
	Jane Tait	Domestic Servant	18	Shapinsay
Balfour Gardens	Thomas McDonald	Gardener	28	Beauly
	Robina "	Wife	27	Sanday
	Jessie "	Daughter	5 months	Shapinsay
Balfour Lodge	Alexander Robertson	Butler	63	Dalmeny
	Eliza "	Wife	66	Hawick
	Janet Harcus	Daughter & Schoolteacher	36	Edinburgh
	Jane "	Granddaughter	6	"
Sound	Jane Irvine	Dairymaid	53	Shapinsay
	James Ramsay	Coachman	38	Dumfries
	Margaret "	Wife	31	Dingwall
	Stewart "	Son	3	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Daughter	2	"
	Jemima "	Daughter	10 months	"
Balfour Village	William Michael	Yacht-master	37	"
	Isabella "	Wife	38	St. Andrews
	Isabella "	Daughter	9	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Daughter	7	"
	Barbara "	Daughter	5	"
	William "	Son	2	"
Balfour Village (cont.)	Robert Michael	Son	2 months	Shapinsay
	John Tinch	Carpenter	50	Kilsyth
	Mary "	Wife	51	Shapinsay
	John "	Son & Carpenter	22	"
	William "	Son & Carpenter	19	"
	Jean "	Daughter & Domestic S.	17	"
	Isabella "	Daughter & Messenger	14	"
	Edward "	Son	9	"
	John "	Son	6	"
Post Office	John Reid	Postmaster & Fisherman	46	"
	Barbara "	Wife	47	Kirkwall
	Jane "	Daughter	22	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Daughter	18	"
	William Bell	Gasworks Manager	74	"
	Mary "	Daughter	49	"
	Ann "	Daughter	42	"
	David Liddle	Joiner	25	"
	Mary "	Wife	24	"
	David "	Son	9 months	"
	Betsy Sinclair	Pauper	80	"
	Elizabeth Work	Pauper	76	"
	William Cormack	Agricultural labourer	58	Kirkwall
	Jane "	Wife	61	Stronsay
	Charles Dunnett	visitor	9	Shapinsay
	Eliza Reid	Domestic Servant	33	Westray

Balfour Village (cont.)	John Irvine	Agricultural Labourer	77	Fair isle
	John Drever	Mason	33	Shapinsay
	Jessie “	Wife	29	Eday
	John “	Son	3	Kirkwall
	Janet “	Daughter	2	Shapinsay
	Benjamin Johnston	Farm Servant	47	Lerwick
	Eliza “	Wife	47	Shapinsay
	Mary Heddle	Dressmaker	43	“
	William Hepburn	Mason	30	“
	Mary “	Wife	30	Kincardine O’Niel
	James “	Son	2	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	5 months	“
	Francis Baikie	Blacksmith	27	Dunnet
	Jessie “	Wife	26	Wick
	Margaret “	Daughter	3	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	1	“
	Isaac Marwick	Ass. Blacksmith	22	Rousay
	Ann Bews	Washerwoman	39	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	6	“
	Jane Bews	Daughter	3	Shapinsay
	William Foubister	Road-builder	37	St. Andrews
	Margaret “	Wife	29	Evie
	Margaret “	Daughter	10	Rendall
	Annie “	Daughter	6	Shapinsay
	Eleanor “	Daughter	3	“
	Alexander Craigie	Labourer	67	Egilsay
	Barbara “	Wife	59	Westray
	Annie “	Granddaughter	17	Shapinsay
	Willemina “	Granddaughter	12	Selkirk
	Isabella “	Granddaughter	8	“
	John Michael	Joiner	29	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Wife	27	“
	John “	Son	3	“
	James “	Son	3 months	“
	James Sketheway	Sailor	25	“
	David Foubister	Agricultural labourer	48	Gairsay
	Isabella “	Wife	37	Shapinsay
	John Liddle	Gardener	58	Kirkwall
	Catherine “	Wife	59	Shapinsay
	William “	son & Gardener	21	“
	Richard Towers	Labourer	46	Sanday
	Rebecca “	Wife	45	Rousay
	Thomas “	Son	14	Stronsay
	Barbara “	Daughter	11	Shapinsay
	Jemima “	Daughter	9	“
	James “	Son	6	“



	John	"	Son	3	"
	Thomas Stevenson		Wright & Boatbuilder	41	"
	William	"	Wright & Boatbuilder	43	"
	Barbara	"	Mother	75	"
	David Allan		Tailor	27	Deerness
	Robert	"	Brother & Tailor	20	"
	Ellen	"	Sister & Domestic Servant	22	"
	Mary Rendall		Widow	68	Shapinsay
	James Jamieson		Agricultural Labourer	31	South Ronaldsay
	Jane	"	Wife	30	"
	James	"	Son	10	"
	Jane	"	Daughter	9	"
	William	"	Son	7	"
	Isabella	"	Daughter	5	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	2	Shapinsay
	David	"	Son	1	"
Grocery	Magnus Williamson		Grocer	67	"
	Jessie	"	Wife	58	"
Grocery (cont.)	Elizabeth Williamson		Daughter	36	Shapinsay
	Jessie	"	Daughter	34	"
	James	"	Son & Cabinetmaker	31	"
	Marion Reid		Sister-in-law	69	"
	George	"	Nephew	12	England
	Margaret Franklin		Widow	40	Shapinsay
	John Scott		Marine Engineer	59	Edinburgh
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	56	Forfar
	Isabella	"	Daughter & Dressmaker	16	Leith
	John Drever		Mason	61	Shapinsay
	Janet	"	Wife	63	"
	Jessie	"	Daughter	22	Kirkwall
	Thomas	"	Son & Mason	28	Shapinsay
	Agnes	"	Daughter-in-law	21	Westray
	John	"	Grandson	6 months	Shapinsay
Burnside	Betsy Tait		Widow	49	Kirkwall
	Eleanor	"	Daughter	12	Shapinsay
Balfour Mains (800 acres)	Charles Anderson		Farm Servant	32	Stronsay
	Margaret	"	Wife	28	Shapinsay
	Charles	"	Son	7	"
	Alexander	"	Son	5	"
	Thomas	"	Son	1 month	"
	Isabella Russell		Mother-in-law	51	North Ronaldsay
	William Bews		Nephew	11	Shapinsay
	John Cutt		Farm Servant	48	North Ronaldsay
	Jessie	"	Wife	46	"
	John	"	Son & Farm Servant	20	Orphir
	Robert	"	Son	15	Shapinsay
	John McKinlay		Farm Servant	39	Kirkwall

	Barbara	“	Wife	43	South Ronaldsay
	Ann	“	Daughter & Domestic S.	18	“
	John	“	Son	15	“
	Elizabeth	“	Daughter	13	“
	James	“	Son	11	“
	William	“	Son	9	“
	Alexander	“	Son	7	“
	George	“	Son	5	Holm
	Margaret	“	Daughter	2	Shapinsay
	Peter Shearer		Farm Servant	48	Stronsay
	Ann	“	Wife	47	“
	Peter	“	Son & Farm Servant	23	“
	Elizabeth	“	Daughter & Farm Servant	18	Sanday
	Isabella	“	Daughter & Farm Servant	15	Shapinsay
	John	“	Son	12	“
	Andrew	“	Son	10	“
	Margaret	“	Daughter	9	“
	Ann	“	Daughter	7	“
	Robina	“	Daughter	5	“
	William	“	Son	3	
Balfour Mains (cont.)	Sinclair McAdie		Grieve	54	Bower
	Jane	“	Wife	54	Halkirk
	Robertina	“	Daughter	22	Shapinsay
	Donald	“	Son	16	“
	Christina Williamson		Granddaughter	2	“
	Margaret Maxwell		Farm Servant	28	“
	William Foubister		Farm Servant	24	Kirkwall
	John Kemp		Farm Servant	25	“
	Christina Michael		Domestic Servant	22	Shapinsay
Westhill	John Skea		General Labourer	31	“
	Margaret	“	Wife	28	Stronsay
	John	“	Son	1	Shapinsay
	John	“	Retired Farmer	76	“
	Isabella	“	Mother	74	Evie
	Christina Merriman		Domestic Servant	51	“
Rosecraigie (50 acres)	John Laughton		Farmer	35	Shapinsay
	Jane	“	Wife	35	Orphir
	John	“	Son	12	Shapinsay
	Thomas	“	Son	9	“
	Robina	“	Daughter	5	“
Furrowend (26 acres)	Thomas Laughton		Farmer	72	“
	Catherine	“	Wife	75	“
	Izat	“	Son	32	“
	Barbara	“	Daughter-in-law	22	Eday
	Jessie	“	Granddaughter	1	Kirkwall
	William Swanney		Grandson	17	Shapinsay
Waltness (210 acres)	Alexander Marshall		Farmer	41	Banchory
	Margaret	“	Wife	42	Birsay
	John	“	Son	15	Harrray
	Hercules	“	Son	13	“
	Alexander	“	Son	11	Kirkwall
	William	“	Son	9	Stronsay
	George	“	Son	7	Shapinsay

	Mary	"	Daughter	5	"
	Charles	"	Son	3	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	10 months	"
	George Scholley		Farm servant	24	Westray
	Agnes	"	Wife	21	Shapinsay
	Jessie Hourston		Domestic Servant	21	"
	Donald Spence		Farm Servant	22	Burray
	Charles Osborne		Farm Servant	17	Kirkwall
Garth (50 acres)	Peter Bews		Farmer	79	Shapinsay
	Mary	"	Daughter	55	"
	William	"	Son	53	"
	James	"	Son	48	"
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	38	"
	Christina	"	Daughter	36	"
	William Towers		Farm Servant	15	Stronsay
Gebro (30 acres)	David Rendall		Farmer	26	Shapinsay
Gebro (cont.)	Agnes	"	Wife	23	Shapinsay
	Thomas Rendall		Son	3	Shapinsay
Greenwall (30 acres)	Thomas Russell		Farmer	55	"
	Margaret	"	Sister	52	"
	Janet	"	Sister	38	"
	Margaret Corsie		Niece & Dressmaker	22	"
	Elizabeth	"	Niece	19	Kirkwall
	William Skea		Nephew	4	Shapinsay
Troynhead (32 acres)	John Swanney		Farmer	40	Eday
	Margaret	"	Wife	40	Shapinsay
	John	"	Son	13	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	12	"
	Catherine	"	Daughter	9	"
	Izat	"	Son	3	"
	Jane	"	Daughter	10 months	"
	Frances	"	Daughter	10 months	"
	Elizabeth Donaldson		aunt	67	"
Broadgreen (40 acres)	Peter Maxwell		Farmer	61	Stronsay
	Margaret	"	Wife	71	Sanday
	Peter	"	Son & Sailor	35	Shapinsay
E.U. Manse	William Tiplady		Minister	30	England
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	29	Kelso
	John	"	Son	3	Dumfries
	Janet	"	Daughter	2	Shapinsay
	Jane Allan		Domestic Servant	20	"
Chapel Brae (10 acres)	Ann Thompson		Farmer & Grocer	49	North Ronaldsay
	Jane	"	Daughter	15	Shapinsay
	Thomas	"	Son	13	"
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	8	"
	Mary Muir		Mother & Midwife	72	North Ronaldsay
	Malcolm Nicolson		Shoemaker	73	Shapinsay
Cott Brae (16 acres)	John Shearer		Farmer & Shoemaker	44	Eday
	Mary	"	Wife	47	"
	Mary	"	Daughter	15	Shapinsay

	David “	Son	9	“
Courthall	James Drever	Shoemaker & Fisherman	47	“
	Isabella “	Wife	51	“
	James “	Son & Seaman	20	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	13	“
	Jane “	Daughter	5	“
	Isabella Russell	Mother-in-law	96	Sanday
Drill Hall Cottage	John Mortimer	Drill Instructor	49	England
	Elizabeth “	Wife	48	“
Roadside House (25 acres)	Henry Willetts	Farmer	49	“
	Sarah “	Wife	47	“
	Charles “	Son	17	Dumbarton
	Emma “	Daughter	9	Shapinsay
	Marcus “	Son	8	“
Roadside Cottage	Isabella Harcus	Widow	63	Eday
	Isabella “	Granddaughter	6	Shapinsay
Braehead (10 acres)	Samuel Jones	Farmer & Fisherman	29	“
	Mary “	Wife	33	Westray
	John “	Son	4	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	3 months	“
Barebraes (10 acres)	John Hourston	Farmer & Fisherman	49	Eday
	Mary “	Wife	48	Sanday
	James “	Son & General Labourer	17	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Daughter	14	“
	William “	Son	12	“
	Jane “	Daughter	8	“
	Rubena “	Daughter	5	“
Braefoot (40 acres)	Thomas Omand	Farmer & Joiner	44	Eday
	Ann “	Wife	40	“
	Robert “	Son	22	“
Wardhill (30 acres)	Robert Heddle	Farmer	41	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Wife	47	“
	John “	Son	10	“
Odinstone (220 acres)	John Scott	Farmer	50	“
	Mary “	Wife	48	“
	James “	Son	23	“
	Mary “	Daughter	22	“
	William “	Son	26	“
	John “	Son	25	“
	Barbara “	Daughter-in-law	24	“
	John “	Grandson	1	“
Odin	John Jones	Labourer	72	Kirkwall
	Barbara “	Wife	73	Shapinsay
	Margaret Wyllie	Daughter & Gen. Servant	33	“
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	7	“
	Margaret Rendall	Widow	57	“
	John “	Son	12	“
West Laro	Thomas Swanney	Farmer	68	North Ronaldsay

(50 acres)	Jane	"	Wife	68	Fair Isle
	Thomas	"	Son & Fisherman	44	Eday
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter-in-law	44	Shapinsay
	Thomas	"	Son	18	"
	John	"	Son	15	"
	David	"	Son	13	"
	Peter	"	Son	11	"
	Jane	"	Daughter	9	"
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	7	"
	Catherine	"	Daughter	5	"
	James	"	Son	2	"
	Jessie	"	Daughter	1	"
	Margaret Miller		General Servant	30	Eday
	Jane Work		Domestic Servant	17	Shapinsay
Hewan (100 acres)	Samuel Russell		Farmer	48	Shapinsay
	Jane	"	Wife	49	Rousay
	James	"	Son	20	Shapinsay
	David	"	Son	14	"
	Jane	"	Granddaughter	1	"
Newhouse	Magnus Russell		Grocer	22	Sandwick
	Elizabeth	"	Wife	23	Shapinsay
	Isabella	"	Sister	18	Finstown
Astley Cottage (43.5 acres)	Anthony Copland		Farmer	35	Kirkwall
	Jane	"	Wife	28	Shapinsay
	Agnes	"	Daughter	6	"
	James	"	Son	2	"
Flakimoss (25 acres)	Henry Nicolson		Farmer	45	"
	Margaret	"	Wife	46	"
	Margaret Heddle		Mother-in-law	76	"
Crossgates (40 acres)	Magnus Hutchison		Farmer	43	"
	Francis	"	Wife	41	"
	Jessie	"	Daughter	19	"
	Magnus	"	Son	17	"
	Francis	"	Daughter	16	"
	Mary	"	Daughter	11	"
	William	"	Son	8	"
	James	"	Son	6	"
	John	"	Son	3	"
	David	"	Son	3	"
	Elizabeth Thompson		Dressmaker	21	Westray
	Isabella Johnstone		Dressmaker	18	Deerness
Strathore (200 acres)	Andrew Tulloch		Farmer	50	"
	Andrew	"	Son	21	"
	Edward	"	Son	17	"
	Peter	"	Son	13	"
	Betsy	"	Daughter	13	"
	Isabella	"	Daughter	7	Shapinsay
	Betsy Hourie		Sister-in-law & Dairymd.	39	Deerness
	John Wyllie		Farm Servant	22	Burray
	James Laird		Farm Servant	20	"
Burness	David Irvine		Fisherman	44	Eday



	Ann “	Wife	41	Flotta
	David “	Son	13	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	11	“
Newfield House (98 acres)	James Bews	Farmer	40	Eday
	Mary “	Wife	43	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	17	“
	Mary “	Daughter	15	“
	Alexander “	Son	14	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	12	“
	John “	Son	10	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	8	“
	William “	Son	6	“
Newfield House (cont.)	Isabella Bews	Daughter	4	Shapinsay
	Christina “	Daughter	2	“
	John Jackson	visitor	36	England
Rose Cottage	Margaret Jeffrey	Merchant	50	Shapinsay
	Henry “	Son	14	“
	William Groat	Pensioner	42	“
	Magnus Hutchison	Retired Farmer	85	“
	Barbara “	Wife	70	Fair Isle
Swartaquoy (45 acres)	Thomas Groat	Farmer	46	Shapinsay
	Jemima “	Wife	44	“
	William “	Son	17	“
	Jane “	Daughter	13	“
	Thomas “	Son	6	“
	Peter Flett	Mason	29	Orphir
	Eliza “	Wife	32	Shapinsay
	Eliza “	Daughter	7	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	5	“
	Jane “	Daughter	2	“
Lochend (8.5 acres)	William Harcus	Farmer & Fisherman	35	Eday
	Elizabeth “	Wife	39	Shapinsay
	William “	Son	11	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	7	“
‘twa-beeld’	William Learmonth	Fisherman	22	“
	Christina “	Wife	21	“
	Mary “	Daughter	2	“
	William “	Son	1	“
East Laro (35 acres)	John Drever	Farmer	35	“
	Ann “	Wife	34	Eday
	Ann “	Daughter	8	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	5	“
	Thomas “	Son	3	“
	Jean “	Daughter	1	“
	James Donaldson	Blacksmith	51	“
	Margaret Muir	Housekeeper	41	Sanday
Quoybanks (45 acres)	James Allan	Farmer & Fisherman	44	Eday
	Jane “	Wife	39	Shapinsay
	William “	Son	18	“
	James “	Son	17	“
	David “	Son	12	“
	Thomas “	Son	9	“

	Margaret “	Daughter	5	“
	Jane “	Niece	13	“
	Eliza “	Mother	82	Deerness
Hestivald (30 acres)	Andrew Kirkness	Farmer	31	“
	Grace “	Wife	28	“
	Mary “	Daughter	5	“
	James “	Son	4	“
	William “	Son	2	Shapinsay
	Grace “	Daughter	2 months	“
	Jemima Shearer	General Servant	15	“
Newfield Cottage (7 acres)	John Shearer	Farmer & Fisherman	48	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	9	“
	Thomas “	Son	7	“
	William “	Son	6	“
	Margaret “	Mother	72	“
	Betsy “	Sister	55	“
Petra (10 acres)	Elizabeth Sketheway	Farmer	53	“
	Mary “	Daughter	14	“
Millburn (25 acres)	John Shearer	Farmer & Fisherman	54	“
	Jane “	Wife	47	“
	Ellen “	Daughter	14	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	12	“
	Mary “	Daughter	11	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	8	“
	Jemima “	Daughter	6	“
Haughland (10 acres)	James Sketheway	Farmer & Fisherman	50	“
	Isabella “	Wife	54	“
	John “	Son & Fisherman	20	“
	William “	Son & Fisherman	23	“
	Ellen “	Daughter-in-law	21	“
	James “	Grandson	1	“
Pictou (10 acres)	John Allan	Farmer & Fisherman	47	Eday
	Christina “	Wife	45	“
	Alexinia “	Daughter	14	Shapinsay
	Jane “	Daughter	12	“
Waterhouse mire (25 acres)	John Bews	Farmer	40	Eday
	Betsy “	Wife	34	Shapinsay
	James Groat	lodger	12	Leith
Heatherhouse	Alexander Bews	Fisherman	65	Egilsay
	Jane Liddle	Widow	61	Westray
Pekin (15 acres)	Thomas Shearer	Farmer	66	Shapinsay
	Christina “	Wife	65	“
	William “	Son & Fisherman	25	“
Balaclava (90 acres)	William Robertson	Farmer & Clerk	32	Edinburgh
	Isabella “	Wife	27	Anstruther
	Alexander “	Son	5	Shapinsay
	William “	Son	3	“
	Thomas “	Son	1	“
	Margaret Wallace	Farm Servant	27	Eday

	James Pearson	Farm Servant	18	Rousay
	Sarah Shearer	Domestic Servant	18	Shapinsay
Millfield Cottage	William Miller	Agricultural Labourer	24	Stronsay
	Mary “	Wife	25	Eday
Mossbank (17 acres)	John Nicolson	Farmer & Blacksmith	61	Shapinsay
	Janet “	Wife	56	“
	John “	Son & Fisherman	24	“
Parkhall (64 acres)	William Bews	Farmer	40	Kirkwall
	Isabella “	Wife	36	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	18	“
	William “	Son & Carpenter	16	“
	David “	Son	15	“
	John “	Son	1	Kirkwall
	Mary “	Sister & Grocer	56	Shapinsay
	Samuel “	Nephew	26	“
	Mary Brass	Domestic Servant	23	Orphir
Buhouse (30 acres)	Malcolm Heddle	Farmer	41	Shapinsay
	Annabella “	wife	40	Orphir
	John “	Son	18	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Daughter	16	“
	Malcolm “	Son	14	“
	James “	Son	12	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	10	“
	Mary “	Daughter	8	“
	Ann “	Daughter	1	“
Hamar	James Gullion	Agricultural Labourer	49	Eday
	Isabella “	Wife	45	“
	John “	Son	11	Shapinsay
C. of S. Manse	Robert Rannie	Minister	45	Lerwick
	Jane “	Wife	35	Kirkwall
	Christian “	Daughter	3	Shapinsay
	Robert “	Son	2	“
	Arthur “	Son	1	“
	Mary Scott	Nursery-maid	29	North Ronaldsay
	Ann Swanney	Domestic Servant	24	“
	Sarah Tulloch	Dairymaid	23	“
	John Thomson	Farm Servant	15	Shapinsay
Manse Cottage	Robert Harvey	Grieve	33	Orphir
	Helen “	Wife	31	Kirkwall
	Mary “	Daughter	3	Orphir
	George “	Son	10 months	Shapinsay
Brecks (40 acres)	Thomas Smith	Farmer	66	“
	Robina “	Wife	19	“
	Thomas Cooper	Brother-in-law	15	“
Old School (40 acres)	David Laughton	Farmer	42	“
	Janet “	Wife	39	“
	Jessie “	Daughter	13	“
	David “	Son	10	“
	James “	Son	8	“
	Esther Russell	Widow	55	“

	Mary-A "	Daughter	29	"
	Margaret Work	Widow	60	"
	Sarah Gray	Hawker	40	England
U.P. Manse	Jane Hutchison	Minister's Widow	27	Aberdeen
	James Goudie	Probationer	29	Paisley
	Jessie Woodrow	Domestic Servant	21	Edinburgh
Public School	George Paterson	Schoolmaster	45	Wigtown
	Margaret Sinclair	Housekeeper	32	Sanday
Stye	Peter Campbell	Farm Servant	54	Wick
	Ann "	Wife	58	Deerness
	Mary "	Daughter	20	Shapinsay
	John "	Son	16	"
	Peter "	Grandson	7	Edinburgh
	Marcus "	Grandson	5	"
Elwickbank (200 acres)	Marcus Calder	Factor & Farmer	66	Scotscalder
	Margaret Begg	Niece	28	Clackmannan
	Margaret Scott	Housekeeper	62	Keiss
	Barbara Harcus	Dairymaid	25	Eday
	James Foubister	Farm Servant	23	Deerness
	John Bremner	Farm Servant	19	Hoy
	Jane Duncan	Domestic Servant	17	Shapinsay
	Isabella Towers	Domestic Servant	17	Stronsay
	David Hume	Seaman	26	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Wife	30	Kirkwall
	John "	Son	3	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	2	"
	David "	Son	1 month	Shapinsay
Elwick Mill	David Laughton	Miller	62	"
	Betsy "	Wife	62	"
	James Yorston	Kilnsman	35	Egilsay
	Thomas Walls	General Servant	25	Eday
	Margaret "	Wife	33	Shapinsay
	Barbara "	Sister	21	Eday
	John Maxwell	General Servant	24	Shapinsay
	Janet Liddle	Widow	68	"
Lufaness (30 acres)	John Hepburn	Farmer	62	"
	Margaret "	Wife	58	Orphir
	John "	Son	24	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Daughter	30	"
	Mary "	Sister	68	"
Ostoft (27 acres)	David Skea	Farmer	66	"
	Isabella "	Wife	70	"
	Cecilia "	Sister	62	"
	John "	Son & Joiner	27	"
	Betsy "	Daughter-in-law	27	Hoy
	Mary "	Granddaughter	7	Shapinsay
	Isabella "	Granddaughter	4 months	"
	George Swanson	Joiner	20	Hoy
Grassquoy (19 acres)	John Sinclair	Farmer	58	Sanday
	Margaret "	Wife	58	"
	Jane "	Daughter	23	Shapinsay

	William “	Son	17	“
	John Deerness	Retired Cooper	86	“
	Margaret “	Wife	86	“
Houseby	Charles Heddle	Farmer	38	“
Houseby (cont.)	Jane Heddle	Wife	45	Shapinsay
(25 acres)	Isabella “	Daughter	20	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	15	“
	James “	Son	12	“
	Barbara “	Daughter	10	“
	Helen “	Sister	33	“
	Isabella “	Niece	1	“
	William Flett	Father-in-law	82	“
Basham	Thomas Flett	Agricultural Labourer	69	“
Howe	Hugh Craigie	Farmer	57	Egilsay
(140 acres)	Helen “	Wife	48	Wick
	Helen “	Daughter	20	Shapinsay
	May “	Daughter	19	“
	Hugh “	Son	13	“
	Henry “	Son	12	“
	Robert “	Son	9	“
	William “	Brother	43	“
	Barbara “	Sister-in-law	25	Eday
	Agnes “	Niece	5	Shapinsay
	William “	Nephew	1	“
	Andrew Moodie	Farm Servant	26	“
	Janet Work	Domestic Servant	20	“
	Jemima Garioch	Nurserymaid	13	Westray
	Margaret Peace	Nurse	54	Shapinsay
	Margaret Hourston	Widow	85	Egilsay
Steaquoy	James Reid	Farmer	51	Shapinsay
(40 acres)	Joanna “	Wife	36	Eday
	Christina “	Sister & Shopkeeper	58	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Sister	53	“
	Christina “	Mother	83	“
Haroldsgarth	Magnus Craigie	Farmer	59	Egilsay
(43 acres)	Betsy “	Wife	50	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Daughter	32	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	11	“
	May “	Daughter	9	“
	Agnes “	Daughter	5	“
	William “	Son	28	“
	Margaret “	Daughter-in-law	30	“
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	3	“
	William “	Grandson	6 months	“
Quoymoorhouse	William Scott	Farmer	48	“
(75 acres)	Mary “	Wife	48	North Ronaldsay
	William “	Son	17	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	16	“
	Robert “	Son	14	“
	David “	Son	13	“
	James “	Son	11	“
	Thomas “	Son	9	“



Quoymoorhouse (cont.)	Luke	"	Son	7	"
	Peter	"	Son	6	"
	Marcus	"	Son	1	"
	Thomas Scott		Brother & Joiner	37	Shapinsay
	Ann	"	Wife	44	Evie
	John	"	Son	10	Leith
	Mary	"	Daughter	8	"
	Annie	"	Daughter	8	"
	Christina	"	Daughter	6	"
	Helen	"	Daughter	2	"
Cot-on-Hill (30 acres)	James Scott		Farmer & Fisherman	46	Shapinsay
	Jane	"	Wife	44	Evie
	James	"	Son	19	Shapinsay
	John	"	Son	15	"
	Sarah	"	Daughter	13	"
	Mary-A	"	Daughter	11	"
	Robert	"	Son	7	"
	William	"	Son	5	"
Purtaquoy (20 acres)	Magnus Michael		Farmer	57	"
	Mary	"	Wife	40	Stromness
	Mary	"	Daughter	19	Shapinsay
	William	"	Son & Fisherman	18	"
	Margaret	"	Daughter	13	"
	Christina	"	Daughter	10	"
	Thomas	"	Son	5	"
	John	"	Son	3	"
	Thomas	"	Brother & Fisherman	55	"
	John Budge		Nephew	2	Hoy
Mounthooley (30 acres)	Janet Nicolson		Farmer	71	Shapinsay
	Mary Michael		Niece	34	Holm
	May	"	Grand-niece	14	Shapinsay
	Ann	"	Grand-niece	8	"
Tew (8 acres)	James Work		Farmer	48	"
	Betsy	"	Wife	37	Westray
	James	"	Son	18	Shapinsay
	William	"	Son	2	"
	Ann	"	Daughter	8 months	"
Helligo (45 acres)	Neil McKenzie		Farmer	40	Lochinver
	Robina	"	Wife	33	Westray
	Mary	"	Daughter	13	Kirkwall
	Margaret	"	Daughter	13	"
	Eliza	"	Daughter	11	"
	Robert	"	Son	7	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth	"	Daughter	5	"
Scarpigarth (24 acres)	John Work		Farmer & Fisherman	51	"
	Margaret	"	Wife	51	"
	John	"	Son & Fisherman	25	"
	Jane	"	Daughter-in-law	28	"
	John	"	Grandson	2	"
	Thomas	"	Son & Fisherman	23	"
	Magnus	"	Son & Fisherman	18	"

Luckston	James Michael	Farmer & Fisherman	61	Old Meldrum
Luckston (cont.)	Catherine Michael	Wife	52	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	21	“
	Thomas “	Son	13	“
	Mary “	Daughter	10	“
	Christina Scott	Mother-in-law	80	“
Newlot (10 acres)	Samuel Hepburn	Farmer & Fisherman	47	“
	Elizabeth “	Wife	46	“
	Samuel “	Son & Fisherman	20	“
	Margaret “	Daughter & Curer	18	“
	John “	Son	14	“
	John “	Grandfather/Retired Joiner	96	“
	Elizabeth “	Mother	73	“
Hacosness (30 acres)	Charles Moodie	Farmer	49	Sanday
	Margaret “	Wife	61	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	24	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	22	“
	John “	Son	20	“
	James “	Son	18	“
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	1	“
Sandsgarth (48 acres)	James Irvine	Farmer	53	“
	Isabella “	Wife	55	“
	Isabella “	Daughter	21	“
	John “	Son	18	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	16	“
	John “	Brother & Farmer	62	“
	Margaret “	Sister-in-law	49	“
	John “	Nephew	14	“
	Mary “	Niece	12	“
Little Sandsgarth (15 acres)	William Drummond	Farmer	28	“
	Charlotte “	Wife	31	Westray
	William “	Son	4	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	1	“
	John “	Father	70	“
	Helen “	Mother	68	“
Busgar (10 acres)	Alexander Leask	Farmer	49	Rousay
	Marjory “	Wife	52	Egilsay
	Hugh “	Son	24	Shapinsay
Hannatof (110 acres)	Christopher Nicolson	Farmer	40	“
	Mary “	Wife	40	“
	Mary-A “	Daughter	12	“
	Christopher “	Son	10	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	8	“
	William “	Son	5	“
	Amy “	Daughter	2	“
	John “	Brother & Farmer	37	“
	Margaret “	Sister-in-law	28	“
	Margaret Hourston	Domestic Servant	40	Egilsay
	Mary Flett	Domestic Servant	20	Kirkwall
Lingro	John Drever	Farmer	67	Shapinsay

(40 acres)	Mary “	Wife	69	“
	James “	Brother & Mason	62	“
	Mary Shearer	Niece	31	“
	Mary “	Grand-niece	3	“
	Margaret “	Grand-niece	4 months	“
	William Drever	Son	33	“
	Jessie “	Daughter-in-law	33	“
	Jessie “	Granddaughter	8	“
	John “	Grandson	4	“
	Jane Heddle	Domestic Servant	18	“
Brecks & Myers (40 acres)	William Work	Farmer	76	“
	Betsy “	Wife	56	Sandwick
	James “	Son & Joiner	25	Shapinsay
	William “	Son & Blacksmith	24	“
	David “	Son	22	“
	John “	Son	14	“
	Ellen “	Sister	70	“
	Catherine “	Sister	51	“
	James “	Brother	44	“
Comely Bank (27 acres)	John Hourston	Farmer	27	Eday
	Elizabeth “	Wife	28	Orphir
Veantraw (22 acres)	Thomas Irvine	Farmer	52	Shapinsay
	Rebecca “	Wife	43	Eday
	Mary “	Daughter	10	Shapinsay
	Thomas “	Son	8	“
	William “	Son	6	“
	John “	Son	4	“
	Magnus “	Son	1	“
Girnigeo (45 acres)	William Drever	Farmer	47	“
	Sibella “	Wife	46	North Ronaldsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	20	Shapinsay
	Betsy “	Daughter	11	“
	Margaret “	Sister & Knitter	65	“
	John “	Brother & Farm Manager	60	“
Quholm (30 acres)	James Nicolson	Farmer	26	“
	Margaret “	Wife	27	Eday
	Annie “	Daughter	4	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	1	“
	Christina Omand	Sister-in-law	40	Eday
	Jemima “	Niece	2	“
	Elizabeth Irvine	Knitter	71	Shapinsay
Caskald (57 acres)	John McAdie	Farmer	20	“
	Helen “	Wife	17	“
	Margaret Thompson	General Servant	40	Hoy
	Thomas Cutt	Farm Servant	19	Shapinsay
(40 acres)	Nether Bigging	Magnus Michael	Farmer	60
	Janet “	Wife	52	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	26	“
	Mary Michael	Daughter	18	Shapinsay
	Janet “	Sister & Knitter	68	“
Nether Bigging (cont.)	Margaret “	Sister & Knitter	65	“

	Robert Drever	Farm Manager	26	"
Ha'quoy (80 acres)	John Heddle	Farmer	51	"
	Ann Leslie	Domestic Servant	29	Orphir
	James Michael	Farm Servant	23	Shapinsay
	Thomas Shearer	Farm Servant	23	"
	Catherine Michael	General Servant	18	"
Sholtoquoy (35 acres)	William Swanney	Farmer	55	"
	Margaret "	Sister	54	"
	Margaret Hutchison	General Servant	25	"
	Peter "	Brother & Farm Servant	14	"
	Margaret Hill	Niece	5	"
Upper Bigging (10 acres)	John Bews	Farmer	29	"
	Mary "	Mother	66	"
Geostane (30 acres)	Adam Harcus	Farmer	28	"
	Jane "	Wife	27	South Ronaldsay
	Johanna "	Daughter	4	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	1	Kirkwall
Hillside (25 acres)	Jessie Reid	Farmer	53	Westray
	William "	Son	27	Eday
	Mary "	Daughter-in-law	26	Deerness
	William "	Grandson	1	Shapinsay
	Jessie "	Daughter & Dressmaker	26	Eday
	James "	Son	15	Shapinsay
	William "	Grandson	1	"
	Alexander Davidson	Nephew	4	Deerness
Northhill (38 acres)	William Hepburn	Farmer	61	Shapinsay
	Margaret "	Wife	56	"
	Christina "	Daughter & Dressmaker	33	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	27	"
	Mary "	Daughter	23	"
	Robert "	Son	21	"
	William "	Grandson	5	"
Edmeston (30 acres)	William Irvine	Farmer	46	Eday
	Barbara "	Wife	45	"
	William "	Son	15	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Daughter	13	"
	James "	Son	10	"
	John "	Son	7	"
	Barbara "	Daughter	4	"
Headgeo (25 acres)	William Drever	Farmer	47	"
	Margaret Wilson	General Servant	40	Sanday
	Emma Maxwell	lodger	11	Shapinsay
Ha'breck (20 acres)	James Hutchison	Farmer	53	"
	Elizabeth "	Wife	51	"
	James "	Son & Joiner	21	"
	John "	Son	19	"
Ha'breck (cont.)	Robert Hutchison	Son	13	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth "	Daughter	9	"
	Jessie "	Daughter	4	"

Diggings (40 acres)	James Work	Farmer	78	"
	Magnus "	Son & Farm Manager	41	"
	Elizabeth "	Daughter-in-law	37	Eday
	James "	Grandson	14	Shapinsay
	Jessie "	Granddaughter	9	"
	Magnus "	Grandson	6	"
	William "	Grandson	3	"
	Robina "	Granddaughter	1	"
Easthouse (25 acres)	Mary "	Daughter	47	"
	William Irvine	Farmer	45	"
	Elizabeth "	Wife	49	"
	John "	Son & Joiner	20	"
	James "	Son	17	"
Midhouse (40 acres)	Mary "	Daughter	15	"
	John Inkster	Farmer	47	Rousay
	Isabella "	Wife	42	Shapinsay
Nisthouse (25 acres)	John "	Son	21	"
	David Inkster	Farmer	42	Eynhallow
	Mary "	Wife	35	Kirkwall
	Hugh "	Brother & Fisherman	36	Eynhallow
	Mary "	Sister & Seamstress	33	"
	Sarah "	Sister & Seamstress	28	"
	Samuel "	Brother & Fisherman	27	"
	Mary "	Mother	75	Rousay
Quoys (50 acres)	John Hay	Farmer	45	Golspie
	Jane "	Wife	45	Sanday
	Margaret "	Daughter	15	Shapinsay
	John "	Son	2	"
	George Willetts	Farm Servant	19	Dumbarton
Ness (120 acres)	William Dennison	Farmer	55	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Wife	46	"
	John "	Son	19	"
	William "	Son	15	"
	James "	Son	13	"
	Malcolm "	Son	8	"
	Mary "	Daughter	4	"
	Peter Ryrrie	Farm Servant	21	South Ronaldsay
Vedesquoy (40 acres)	Elizabeth Sketheway	General Servant	17	Shapinsay
	Malcolm Nicolson	Farmer	47	"
	Jane "	Wife	38	"
	William "	Son	17	"
	Jane "	Daughter	14	"
	Mary "	Daughter	10	"
	Isabella "	Daughter	7	"
Vedesquoy (cont.)	Margaret "	Daughter	5	"
	Malcolm Nicolson	Son	2	Shapinsay
Stenso (17 acres)	James Kemp	Farmer	32	Kincardine O'Niel
	Margaret "	Wife	27	Eday
	Jane "	Daughter	6	Shapinsay



	James “	Son	4	“
	David “	Son	2	“
	Thomas “	Son	8 months	“
Kirkton (80 acres)	Robert Kemp	Farmer	32	Kincardine O’Niel
	Margaret “	Wife	21	Shapinsay
	Robert “	Son	4 months	“
	John “	Brother	19	“
	Margaret “	Sister	17	“
	David “	Brother	13	“
	Jane “	Mother & Knitter	55	Kincardine O’Niel
Linton (35 acres)	James Hepburn	Farmer	47	Shapinsay
	Mary “	Wife	38	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	21	“
	William “	Son	12	Leith
	James “	Son	7	Shapinsay
	John “	Son	3	“
	Mary “	Daughter	5	“
	Mary Liddle	Mother-in-law	73	“
Little Feaston (10 acres)	William Work	Farmer	63	“
	William “	Son & Fisherman	34	“
	Elizabeth “	Daughter-in-law	26	Stronsay
	James “	Grandson	4	“
	William “	Grandson	2	“
	Margaret “	Granddaughter	4 months	Shapinsay
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	19	“
Furstigarth (30 acres)	James Meason	Farmer	76	“
	Elizabeth “	Wife	73	“
	James “	Son & Fisherman	50	“
	Mary “	Daughter-in-law	34	“
	James “	Grandson	2	Kirkwall
	Elizabeth “	Daughter	40	Shapinsay
	William Shearer	Farm Servant	19	“
Greenataing (28 acres)	Robert Shearer	Farmer	46	Eday
	Jane “	Wife	43	“
	James “	Son	15	“
	Betsy “	Daughter	13	Shapinsay
	William “	Son	10	“
	Jane “	Daughter	3	“
	Mary Sinclair	Sister-in-law	46	Eday
Feaston (20 acres)	Christina Shearer	Farmer	61	Sanday
	Magnus “	Son	40	Shapinsay
	Margaret “	Daughter	38	“
	Sarah “	Daughter	26	“
Fuag Fuag (cont.) (30 acres)	James Shearer	Farmer	51	“
	Mary Shearer	Wife	43	Eday
	Margaret “	Daughter	22	Shapinsay
	Isabella “	Daughter	9	“
	Alice “	Daughter	7	“
‘twa-beeld’	Peter Scott	Fisherman	29	Eday
	Mary “	Wife	24	Kirkwall
	Annie “	Daughter	2	Shapinsay

Braeholland (32 acres)	William Michael	Farmer	65	"
	Mary "	Wife	66	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	39	"
	David Shearer	Farm Servant	15	"
New Gorn	William Work	Joiner	54	"
	Jane "	Wife	52	Finstown
Little Gorn	William Twatt	Blacksmith	42	St. Andrews
	Mary "	Wife	36	"
	William "	Son	8	Shapinsay
	Peter "	Son	7	"
	Thomas "	Son	3	"
	James "	Son	1	"
Monquhanny (145 acres)	David Reid	Farmer	44	"
	Isabella "	Wife	45	"
	Jemima "	Daughter	17	"
	David "	Son	14	"
	John "	Son	4	"
	William Kemp	Farm Servant	24	"
	James Moodie	Farm Servant	20	Sanday
	Margaret Reid	Niece & Domestic Servant	18	Shapinsay
Cleat (40 acres)	William Allan	Farm Servant	16	"
	James Work	Farmer	43	"
	Jane "	Sister	46	"
	Margaret "	Sister	35	"
Inkerman (30 acres)	Catherine "	Mother	68	Stronsay
	John Drever	Farmer	73	Shapinsay
	Esther "	Wife	71	"
	Margaret "	Daughter	39	"
	William "	Son	32	"
	Mary Cooper	Widow	54	"
	Mary "	Daughter	27	"
	James "	Son	11	"
Skoenstoft (43 acres)	Agnes Bews	Granddaughter	6	"
	Thomas Mouat	Farmer	61	Stronsay
	Christina "	Wife	58	Shapinsay
	Thomas "	Son	32	"
	John "	Son & Fisherman	27	"
	Margaret "	Daughter-in-law	26	"
	John "	Grandson	6	"
	David "	Grandson	2	"
Sandsend (30 acres)	William "	Grandson	4 months	"
	William Sinclair	Farmer	43	Shapinsay
	Jane "	Wife	37	"
Lucknow (50 acres)	William "	Son	1	"
	Robert Sinclair	Farmer	60	Sanday
	Esther "	Wife	64	Shapinsay
	Mary "	Daughter & Seamstress	32	"
	James "	Son	31	"
	Robert "	Son	28	"

	William “	Son & Joiner	27	“
	Jane “	Daughter	24	“
	Esther “	Daughter	18	“
Bonnyhill	Alexander Gunn	Chelsea Pensioner	64	Reay
	Margaret “	Wife	44	Shapinsay
	William “	Son	15	“
	Jane “	Daughter	12	“
Whitecleat (47 acres)	James Work	Farmer	47	“
	Jessie “	Wife	35	Eday
	Magnus “	Son	11	Shapinsay
	James “	Son	9	“
	Jane “	Daughter	7	“
	Margaret “	Daughter	5	“
	Robert “	Son	4	“
	William “	Son	1	“
	Jane “	Sister	38	“
	Robert “	Brother	32	“
	Jane “	Mother	74	“
Society School	David Hepburn	Schoolmaster	66	“
	Mary “	Wife	53	“
	Mary “	Daughter & Seamstress	16	“
	Jane “	Daughter`	14	“

Total Population 974

# APPENDIX B

## Annual Birth Rate for Shapinsay

(1830-1854)

Year	Male	Female	C.of S.	U.P.	E.U.	Sub-totals
1830	16	8	19	5	--	24
1831	7	8	14	1	--	15
1832	14	9	19	4	--	23
1833	8	13	14	7	--	21
1834	6	15	12	9	--	21
1835	15	10	12	13	--	25
1836	9	9	5	13	--	18
1837	7	5	4	8	--	12
1838	16	5	6	15	--	21
1839	6	12	7	11	-	18
1840	10	7	6	11	--	17
1841	13	6	7	12	--	19
1842	8	13	7	14	--	21
1843	5	3	4	4	--	8
1844	19	10	7	22	--	29
1845	7	5	2	10	--	12
1846	10	12	6	16	--	22
1847	9	8	3	14	--	17
1848	18	12	9	21	--	30
1849	15	10	7	18	--	25
1850	10	9	6	13	--	19
1851	9	7	5	9	2	16
1852	11	9	4	10	6	20
1853	11	9	6	8	6	20
1854	9	6	3	6	6	15
Totals	268	220	194	274	20	488

## 1855-1875

Occupation of Father-Religious Denomination not shown

	Farming		Fishing		Artisan		Labourer		Sub-Totals		Totals
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1855	3	2	8	--	1	--	5	2	17	4	21
1856	6	5	1	1	3	3	2	4	12	13	25
1857	12	4	1	3	1	1	2	1	16	9	25
1858	4	3	3	2	--	1	7	2	14	8	22
1859	9	12	3	2	2	4	3	4	17	22	39
1860	5	3	3	4	--	2	2	2	10	11	21
1861	4	6	2	1	1	1	3	6	10	14	24
1862	5	8	6	5	--	1	3	7	14	21	35
1863	7	4	3	4	3	1	2	4	15	13	28
1864	4	3	4	1	--	3	2	2	10	9	19
1865	6	8	4	3	1	--	3	4	14	15	29
1866	7	1	6	2	2	3	2	2	17	8	25
1867	8	2	4	3	--	2	1	2	13	9	22

1868	6	4	2	5	1	2	3	2	12	13	25
1869	3	4	3	1	2	--	3	2	11	7	18
1870	6	6	--	5	2	1	2	--	10	12	22
1871	7	1	1	5	--	2	2	2	10	10	20
1872	5	12	--	1	3	--	2	1	10	14	24
1873	3	6	2	3	3	--	5	2	13	11	24
1874	6	3	2	--	3	3	4	6	15	12	27
1875	7	8	1	2	2	2	3	3	13	15	28
Totals	123	105	59	53	30	32	61	60	273	250	523



# APPENDIX C

## Annual Marriages for Shapinsay (1830-1875)

Year	Occupations				Religious Denomination			T.
	Farming	Fishing	Artisan	Labourer	C. of S.	U.P.	E.U.	
1830	6	1	--					7
1831	7	1	--					8
1832	4	1	--					5
1833	2	5	--					7
1834	3	4	--					7
1835	--	5	--					5
1836	--	1	--					1
1837	1	4	--					5
1838	No Occupations are listed from 1830-1854 in the Shapinsay Parish Record Books.				2	2	--	4
1839					1	1	--	2
1840					--	2	--	2
1841					2	4	--	6
1842					5	2	--	7
1843					3	3	--	6
1844					1	3	--	4
1845					2	6	--	8
1846					1	3	--	4
1847					2	5	--	7
1848					1	3	--	4
1849					1	4	--	5
1850					3	5	--	8
1851					5	6	--	11
1852					--	--	1	1
1853					1	4	1	6
1854					1	5	3	9
1855	2	--	2	3	2	2	3	7
1856	1	--	1	1	--	2	1	3
1857	1	1	2	1	--	5	--	5
1858	5	2	1	--	1	5	2	8
1859	2	3	--	2	2	4	1	7
1860	4	--	1	4	2	5	2	9
1861	1	1	--	2	1	--	3	4
1862	1	2	--	4	--	4	3	7
1863	--	1	1	--	--	1	1	2
1864	--	--	3	--	2	1	--	3
1865	2	--	--	1	1	--	2	3
1866	1	2	3	--	4	--	2	6
1867	--	1	1	--	1	--	1	2
1868	3	1	1	2	2	3	2	7
1869	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4
1870	1	1	--	1	1	1	1	3
1871	1	1	1	--	--	1	2	3
1872	--	1	1	1	--	2	1	3

1873	1	--	1	2	--	3	1	4
1874	1	4	1	2	3	1	4	8
1875	2	1	2	1	5	1	--	6
Totals	30	23	23	28	82	123	38	243

## APPENDIX D

Deaths on Shapinsay  
(1830-1875)

Year	Attended or Unattended		Occupation		Age Groups		Cause of Death	
	A.	U.	Male-	Female	F-FS-A-S	Snr-A-J-C	Nat.-Dis.-Accdt.	
1830			3	4		2 2 1 2		
1831			4	5		4 3 - 2		
1832			4	5		4 3 1 1		
1833			2	8		3 4 1 2		
1834			9	8		7 7 2 1		
1835			6	10		7 4 3 2		
1836			8	9		7 6 1 3		
1837			-	1		- - - 1		
1838			3	4		No records available for this period (1838-1849).		
1839			7	5				
1840	No Record							
1841	9	5						
1842	1	5						
1843	3	3						
1844	4	4						
1845	4	10						
1846	1	2						
1847	4	4						
1848	6	9						
1849	4	5						
1850	2	10			3 9 - 2	2 Stillborn		
1851	6	5			3 6 - 2	No Record		
1852			7	6		5 7 - 3	2 Stillborn	
1853			7	9		4 6 1 6	1 Stillborn	
1854			8	-		4 - - 6	2 Stillborn	
1855	6	16	7	9	8 1 4 3	9 5 - 2	9 7 -	
1856	3	5	2	6	4 1 1 1	7 1 - -	4 3 1	
1857	5	4	6	3	2 - 3 4	3 2 1 3	4 5 -	
1858	3	9	5	7	7 1 1 2	5 6 - 1	6 6 -	
1859	7	9	6	10	9 - 6 1	6 6 1 3	7 9 -	
1860	5	7	5	7	6 2 3 1	5 3 1 3	5 7 -	
1861	4	9	4	9	8 3 1 1	5 6 - 2	5 5 3	
1862	2	14	10	6	7 - 4 5	10 6 - -	10 6 -	
1863	3	11	5	9	6 4 2 2	7 6 - 1	7 6 1	
1864	5	14	9	10	6 1 6 6	11 5 - 3	5 14 -	
1865	3	8	4	7	3 1 4 3	4 5 - 2	5 6 -	
1866	4	4	4	4	4 - 1 3	1 5 - 2	2 6 -	
1867	3	6	6	3	7 - 1 1	4 2 - 3	4 5 -	
1868	6	8	7	7	4 - 5 5	9 4 - 1	8 6 -	
1869	3	8	5	6	9 - 1 1	8 2 1 -	7 3 1	
1870	3	12	10	5	5 - 5 4	7 6 1 1	8 7 -	
1871	3	11	7	7	4 3 2 5	7 3 1 3	8 6 -	
1872	2	9	7	4	6 - 4 1	7 3 - 1	6 5 -	

1873	4	5	6	3	6	-	1	2	5	2	1	1	6	3	-
1874	2	6	5	3	3	-	3	2	6	2	-	-	6	2	-
1875	5	9	9	5	9	-	2	3	6	7	-	1	6	8	-
Totals	81	184	241	266	123	17	60	56	179	138	13	55	135	125	6

## APPENDIX E Shapinsay's Farm Buildings & Surviving Antiquities.

<u>Farm or Building</u>	<u>State of Structure with Adaptations (if any)</u>	<u>Removed or Ruined</u>
Agricola	Pre-improvement cott, 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	Demolished Absorbed into Balfour Mains Farm
Astley Cottage	Built in 1867 for the Voluntary Artillery Corp's drill sergeant, single storey.	No Now local shop
Balaclava Farm	Former farm of Millfield. Original plan (1855) with offices and stables. New farmhouse (1920).	No-see note
Balfour Castle	Completed in 1848 to a neo-Gothic design by David Bryce on the site of the old Clifffdale House. Chapel added in 1890.	No
Balfour Harbour	Formerly Elwick Harbour. Re-named in 1847 and lengthened.	No
Balfour Mains Farm	The estate home-farm was re-named Balfour Mains in 1852. The old farm of Sound was incorporated in the walled and wooded garden of Balfour Castle (see above), continuing as accommodation for estate workers and farm machinery. Balfour Mains stands as it was built with a south facing courtyard, three wings and a two storey (central) office topped by a bell tower. The new farm contained a number of revolutionary (for Orkney) features including underground silage pits, animal urine drains, a marble milking parlour and specially aired, high, drying barns. A 20 <sup>th</sup> century dwelling house was placed next to the farm buildings when the factor's house (Elwickbank) passed into non-estate ownership in the 1920's. The lodge gates and castle lodges are extant but no longer house employees of Balfour Castle.	No
Balfour Village	The former village of Shoreside, re-named in 1847. Substantial additions were made to Thomas Balfour's little street of houses, bringing their complement up to twenty-six by 1858, when gas-lighting was installed (see Gas Works). Fronted by neat, fenced, vegetable gardens, they housed a smithy,	No



carpenter's shop, fish curer, hotel ('Waves') and post office. Upper stories were added to the Smithy and post office/shop in the 1860's.

Bathhouse/Douche	Constructed on the sea-shore at the southern end of the harbour. Although it appears to be a light-tower the douche actually pumped up seawater for bathing purposes. Topped by a miniature stone cottage.	No
Barebraes Farm	T-shaped farmhouse with byres. Constructed in 1858 on newly improved farmland. Original exterior with renovated (1960's) interiors.	No
Bonnyhill/Onzetaur	On former site of North Hillhouse cott. Complete Post-WW II conversion to single storey cottage.	Yes
Braefoot Farm	Single-range farmhouse with detached byre, built In 1858 on newly reclaimed moorland. Original shell, renovated in 1960's.	No
Braeholland Farm	Small single-range farm formerly attached to the smithy at Little Gorn or Smithstown.	Ruined
Brecks Farm	Only byres and outbuildings survive from original L-plan. Farmhouse completely rebuilt in 1920's.	No
Brecks & Myers Farm	On the site of the old Brecks farm in Hollandstoun. Present building was erected in 1854, partly on site of old Myers farm. These buildings are now in a poor state of repair. The 'new' farmhouse has been renovated in the 1950's.	No
Broadgreen Farm	Original (1862) L-plan with modern farmhouse at core. Byres and stables retain original features.	Yes
Bu'house Farm	Formerly Mounthoolie farm. Original 1850's L-plan with extensive renovations (1930's) to all buildings.	No
Burness Cottage	On site of former fishing cott of Trattleton. 20 <sup>th</sup> cent. renovations, retaining exterior walls.	No
Burnside or Heatherhouse	Two rows of buildings, including old smithy, in very poor repair. Original pre-improvement flagstone roof.	No
Burnside Cottage	Single-range cottage with extensive 20 <sup>th</sup> century, internal, renovations. Formerly housed knitters and straw-plaiters.	No

Burroughston Broch	Iron-age broch with base and extensive outbuildings.	Ruin
Busgarth Farm	Pre-improvement L-plan farm in poor state of repair	No
Caskald Farm	Old pre-improvement courtyard survives together with 1850's barn and outhouses. Farmhouse converted in original style.	No
'Castle Bloody' or Berstane Tumulus	Massive tumulus with collapsed roof, part excavated by George Petrie and David Balfour in 1861. Runic Inscriptions.	Ruin
Chapel of Sterr	Outline of pre-Reformation chapel on rocky spur	Ruin
Chapelbrae Cottage	Former labourer's cott situated on the post-squared spinal road with extensive 20 <sup>th</sup> century renovations.	No
Cleat Farm	Original farmhouse demolished as part of the 1858	Yes
Cleat Farm (cont.)	Inkerman farm. Only outline of buildings remain.	
Comely Bank Farm	Abandoned farmhouse in ruinous state with original 1850's tiled roof and windows.	Ruin
Cotbrae Farm	Original 1860's single-range farmhouse & steading with new byres.	No
Cot-on-Hill Farm	Former quoy converted to 30-acre farm in 1860's with original farmhouse and outbuildings. Flagged roof in shallow U-shape.	No
Courthall Farm	Original cott on East Hill Common rebuilt in 1852 and retaining L-plan in renovated (1920's) farmhouse with original byres and barn.	No
Crossgates Farm	Post-improvement (1855) farm with original flagstone roof in L-plan. Interior renovation.	No
Diggings Farm	Remnants of old farmhouse and outhouses still standing. New farmhouse, byres and sheds.	Ruin
Drill Hall & Cott.	Original exterior (1867) with extension and internal renovations. Cottage also renovated, in original style.	No
Easthouse Farm	Pre-improvement interiors of byres are only remaining ing features of an early 20 <sup>th</sup> century reconstruction.	Yes

East Leira Farm	1856 farmhouse and outbuildings. Only interior renovated.	No
Edmeston Cottage	Former 20-acre farm converted into dwelling house. All outbuildings (1860) removed.	Yes
Elwick Farm	Former millhouse converted into single-range farmhouse. Byres & stables retain 1850's features but farmhouse entirely modernised in 1950's.	No
Elwickbank House	Former factor's residence and 200-acre farm. Two-storied manor house with extensive outbuildings.	No
Elwick Mill	Rebuilt and re-equipped in 1851. Complete with wheel and original machinery but in poor repair.	No
Feaston Farm	Single-range farm extended and converted since 1851 on site of old moorside holding. Two rows of byres.	No
Flakimoss Farm	New farmhouse on site of 1850's farm. L-plan retains old byres.	Yes
Fuag Farm	Pre-improvement single-range farmhouse in very poor, ruinous, state.	Ruin
Furrowend	New dwelling house on site of old, pre-improvement, fishing/farming cottage. Only single-range cottage & byre remain from 19 <sup>th</sup> century originals.	Yes
Furstigarth Farm	L-plan farmhouse renovated in 1920's but containing remnants of old mill lade and old 18 <sup>th</sup> century beams. Mill pond intact.	No
Garth Farm	Double-L formation with only outbuildings surviving in original 19 <sup>th</sup> century state. Farmhouse now detached and modernised.	Yes
Gas Works	Round castellated tower on north side of Balfour Village- which housed 1858 coal-gas works. Machinery now removed.	No
Gebro Farm	Single-range farmhouse, renovated in 1950's, with separate byres.	No
Girnigeo Farm	Modernised L-plan farmhouse and barn with original Exteriors. New detached offices and stables.	No

Glebe Cottage	Former farm servants' cottage on Church of Scotland Glebe. No exterior signs of original 18 <sup>th</sup> century design.	No
Grassquoy Farm	Pre-improved farm in single-range with no exterior signs-of 18 <sup>th</sup> century design. Renovated interior.	No
Greenataing Farm	Original 18 <sup>th</sup> century outbuildings but 19 <sup>th</sup> century farm-house extended and renovated.	No
Greenwall Farm	Single-range farm and barn, completely renovated in 1930's.	No
Grind Farm	Small single-range 19 <sup>th</sup> century farm, now demolished	No
Ha'breck Farm	Original 1856 farmhouse with modern extension. Old byre joined to extension.	No
Hacosness	Original pre-improvement fishing cottage in poor state of repair and abandoned.	Ruin
Hamar Cottage	Former cott of Bashan. Single-range in poor state of repair and abandoned.	No
Hannatoft Farm	Pre-improvement, two-storied farmhouse with paved yard to the rear and many original outbuildings. Byres are modern but not attached to older buildings.	No
Ha'quoy Farm	Large two-storied farmhouse with early 20 <sup>th</sup> century conversions (interior & exterior). Old courtyard with two old byres linking newer farm buildings.	No
Haroldsgarth Farm	Large L-plan farm with 1850's barn, two-storied, and byres. Farmhouse and other buildings renovated in 1930's.	No
Haughland Cottage	Single-range former fishing cott formerly rented with neighbouring Petra. U-shaped yard with byre in poor state of repair.	No
Headgeo Farm	Old 1850's farmhouse in ruinous state at back of 1950's-dwelling house. The barns and byres are remnants of the pre-improved farm of Quoys which was partly demolished in 1857.	Yes
Helliard Holm & Lighthouse	Small uninhabited tidal island enclosing the east of Elwick Bay. Remains of 1876 fish-curing station on northern shore. Lighthouse with two houses on southern seaward shore (built 1861).	

Hellige Cottage	Only original walls of pre-improvement fishing cott remain.	Ruin
Hestivald Farm	1858 farmhouse with detached outbuildings. Reconstructed in 1950's with few original features.	No
Hewan Farm	Large farm on original quoyland with paved yard and offices. Renovated farmhouse in original style.	No
Hillside Farm	1850's farm with original house and byres in U-form. Little modern renovation.	No
Hilton Farm	Two-storied farmhouse on site of pre-improvement farms of Styne and Upper Styne. 1860's farm offices at rear forming a square round paved yard.	No
Houseby Farm	1850's farmhouse and outhouses now abandoned with 1930's farmhouse on detached site.	No
Howan Bank Cott.	Former cottage of New Lights. Renovated with Remnants of old walls.	No
Howe Farm	Large L-plan 1852 farm with paved courtyard and stables and byres. Old farmhouse unoccupied and replaced by modern bungalow.	No
Inkerman Farm	New 'improved' farm on former North Hill Common-L-plan with 20 <sup>th</sup> century renovations to interior of Farmhouse.	No
Kirkton Farm	Pre-improvement farm which has been continually renovated from 1850's to 1950's. Inner byres, outhouses and stables retain early 19 <sup>th</sup> century features.	No
Little Feaston Farm	Small single-range farm, pre-improvement, in a ruinous state.	Yes
Little Sandsgarth Farm	Former fishing/farming cott with one original byre. Cottage completely renovated.	No
Lingro Farm	Single-range farmhouse with detached byres (in poor repair). 20 <sup>th</sup> century renovation not in former period and badly executed.	No
Linton Farm	Modern 20 <sup>th</sup> century farmhouse attached to 1850's byres and stables.	No



Linton Kirk & Burial Ground	Ruined pre-Reformation chapel with walled burial ground (still in use).	Yes
Lochend Cottage	L-plan fishing cott with 1860's outbuildings. 20 <sup>th</sup> century renovation as dwelling house.	No
Lucknow Farm	New 'improved' 100-acre farm on former North Hill Common. Complete square of offices and stables. Original farmhouse renovated in 1920's.	No
Luckston Farm	Small 5-acre holding for fishing/farming in poor repair and uninhabited.	No
Lufaness Farm	Single-range farm with modernised farmhouse and exterior 19 <sup>th</sup> century features.	No
Mill Dam	Mile-long loch formed by a natural depression in the farmland north of Balfour Mains, feeding into the mill lade (still intact) and eventually into Elwick Bay.	No
Monquhanny Farm	Former pre-improvement farm of Gorn. Two-storey farmhouse (1852) with square yard, offices and stables. 20 <sup>th</sup> century renovation to farmhouse with added modern outbuildings.	No
Mor or Muir Stane	Huge single standing stone of red-sandstone in the only strip of unimproved land on Shapinsay.	No
Morisonian Kirk & Manse	Congregational church constructed on central spinal road in 1858. Church demolished in 1999 but manse converted to private residence.	Yes
Mossbank Farm & Smithy	Former L-plan farmhouse with smithy (now demolished). House renovated retaining exterior 1850's walls.	Yes
Mounthoolie Farm	Single-range 1850's farmhouse with byre and barn. New farm buildings stand apart with farmhouse Renovated in interior.	No
Ness Farm	Two-storey farmhouse with some original roof-slates. The T-shaped byres and elements of the pre-improvement barn survive with modern additions. Farmhouse renovated in early 20 <sup>th</sup> century. Nothing remains of the absorbed 18 <sup>th</sup> century Inquiver Farm.	No

Nether Bigging Farm	Original L-plan farm with farmhouse renovated in 1930's in original style.	No
Nether Styne Farm	Only fragments of old walls (see Hilton Farm).	Yes
Nisthouse Farm	Original single-range farmhouse and byre remains after stylish 20 <sup>th</sup> century conversion. Incorporated the farm of Midhouse in 1880 of which nothing remains.	No
Newfield Farm	New 'improved' farm on edge of old East Hill Common. L-plan with detached farmhouse. Exteriors are original but interior renovated.	No
Newfield Cottage	20 <sup>th</sup> century cottage in former front garden of old early 19 <sup>th</sup> century cott with flagstone roof and byre.	No
New Gorn Cottage	Single-range cott in original 1850's state but in poor repair.	No
Newhouse Farm	Original double L-plan farm with detached animal sheds. Interior renovation.	No
Newlot Farm	New beef farm on site of former cott of Ganderbrake. Only the original 19 <sup>th</sup> century bothy and fragments of old outhouses remain.	Yes
North Hill Farm	New 'improved' farm on northern edge of former North Hill Common. L-plan retained after skilful renovation using old materials.	No
Odin Cottage	Former fishing cott of Aith, abandoned and in poor repair.	No
Odin Stane	Huge red-sandstone prehistoric monument lying east-west on the shore of Veantrow Bay.	No
Odinstone Farm	Large beef farm on the site of the former Larosdale. Rectangular lay-out with central flagstone yard. Extensively modernised but retaining 1850's style.	No
Old Church of Scotland Manse	Two-storied 18 <sup>th</sup> century manse in walled garden. Separate 19 <sup>th</sup> century farm offices at rear but 55-acre Glebe no longer attached. Empty and awaiting renovation.	No

Old Parish Church	The Church of Scotland kirk stands in ruin with its bell-removed but preserved in the kirkyard. The entire southern population of Shapinsay are buried here, their graves neatly arranged in family groups. The Balfour family erected a separate chapel (now roofless) for their members. Many former islanders are interred here next to their kin.	Yes
Old School House & Cottage	Renamed Monquhanny after the farm of that name reverted to its former name of Gorn. Completely converted to a 'qwaint' cottage. Exterior of the old schoolhouse retained.	Yes
Ostoft Farm	L-plan farm with only the farmhouse renovated in modern 1950's style.	No
Parkhall Farm	Former farm of Millbank. 1852 farm in deep-U form retaining original byres and stables. Farmhouse renovated in 1930's.	No
Pekin or 'Te Ha' Farm	Single-range farm with separate and repaired byre. No external modifications.	No
Petra Farm	Single-range farm with flagstone roof. Unoccupied and in poor repair. See Haughland Cottage.	No
Pictou Farm	L-shaped 1850's farm with original byre and barn. Inept 1950's conversion left new farmhouse with sagging roof.	No
Purtaquoy Farm	Original early 18 <sup>th</sup> century farmhouse with 20 <sup>th</sup> century extension in L-plan configuration. Interior renovation of farmhouse but outhouses unaltered.	No
Quholm Farm	Original early 19 <sup>th</sup> century farmhouse in ruinous state. Separate cottage repaired post WW II but also in poor condition.	Yes
Quoybanks Farm	L-plan farm with farmhouse now modernised and detached from byres and barn which retain some of their 1850's exteriors.	No
Quoymorhouse Farm	Also named Quoymerries. Old pre-improved 'twa-beeld' farming/fishing establishment. Original outbuildings but with converted byres and renovated farmhouse.	No

Quoys of Ayreacks Farm	Former pre-improvement fishing cott absorbed into Waltness farm with all but outer walls remaining.	Yes
Redbanks Cottage	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> century single-range fishing cott in ruinous state.	Yes
Redbanks of Vasator Cottage	Pre-improved fishing croft absorbed into Westhill Farm and demolished leaving only outline walls.	Yes
Roadside Farm	Single-range farm retaining 1860's exterior with interior renovation.	No
Rose Cottage	1860's single-range farm converted into double-cottage.	Yes
Rosecraigie Farm	1850's improved L-plan farm later (1882) merged Westhill farm and demolished. Only outline of farm buildings remain.	Yes
Runabout Farm	Former pre-improvement fishing/farming cott absorbed into Waltness farm in 1860's and eventually demolished.	Yes
Sandsend Cottage	1860's fishing cott lying abandoned in original but ruinous state.	Yes
Sandsgarth Farm	Single-range farm with only the early 19 <sup>th</sup> century byre in original state. Farmhouse and barn renovated.	Yes
Sandston Cottage	Only gable-end survives from former wright's cottage- In mid-1860's was rented together with Scarpigarth and Helligo.	Yes
Scarpigarth Farm	Original pre-improvement farmhouse and separate byre in ruinous state.	Yes
School House Farm	1872 farm created from old parochial school on the last improved land on Shapinsay following the draining and straightening of the old Kirk Glebe. Farmhouse renovated in 1950's and schoolhouse converted into a 'des-res'.	No
Sholtoquoy Farm	L-plan 1850's farm remodeled in 19 <sup>th</sup> century style with modern outbuildings incorporating old byres.	No
Skoenstoft Farm	Pre-improved farm which retains the original L-plan lay-out. Much renovated but retaining many old features in byres and stables.	No

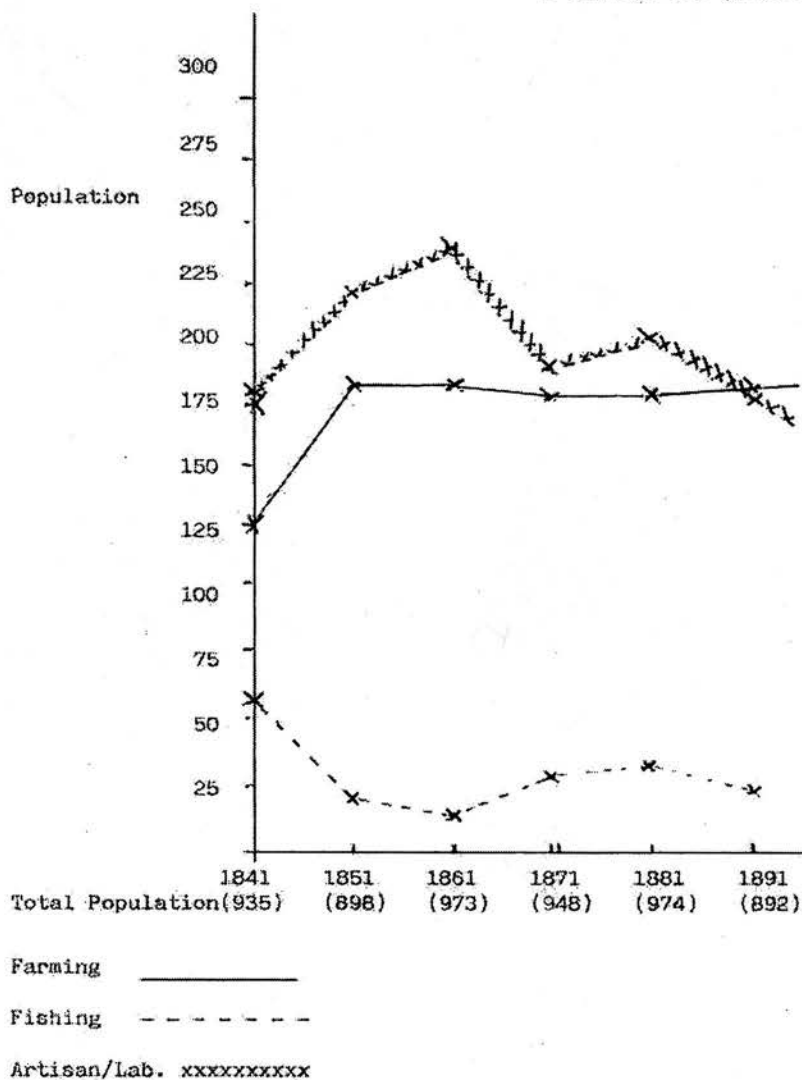
Smithstown Cott.	Former smithy of Little Gorn and renamed along with Gorn (Monquhanny) in 1858. Converted into modern cottage with vestiges of old walls.	Yes
Society School	Standing in original 1840's style but with sagging flagstone roof and in need of extensive repair.	No
Sound	Fragments of the old 18 <sup>th</sup> century Sound House are incorporated in the garden walls of Balfour Castle (see above).	Yes
Stand Pretty Cott.	Single-plan cottage formerly occupied by knitters and named Spion Kop or Sandy Hill. Renovated as modern holiday home.	No
Steaquoy Farm	L-plan farm of which only original 1850's barn remains.	Yes
Stenso Farm	L-plan post-improvement farm with few renovations but abandoned and in poor repair.	No
Strathore Farm	Former farm of Weiland. Unusual three-storied farmhouse detached from three ranges of modern farm buildings. Renovations of farmhouse have been frequent since the mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century.	No
Swartaquoy Farm	Original single-range farm with two-storey barn. Interior of farmhouse renovated in 1930's.	No
Troynhead Farm	Original 1850's byres and stables remain in L-plan farm with remodeled 20 <sup>th</sup> century farmhouse.	No
United Presbyterian Church & Manse	Church rebuilt in 1864 but manse dates from 1832. Now the only active church on Shapinsay used by the Church of Scotland for fortnightly services.	No
Veantraw Farm	Only outer walls of 1850's byre remain of this L-plan farm which has been completely converted into a modern holiday home.	Yes
Vedesquoy Farm	Pre-improvement L-plan farm with outbuildings survive in a poor state of repair. Uninhabited.	No
Walthess Farm	Original large farm completely rebuilt in the 1950's with two-storey farmhouse detached from other buildings which contain only fragments of old.	Yes



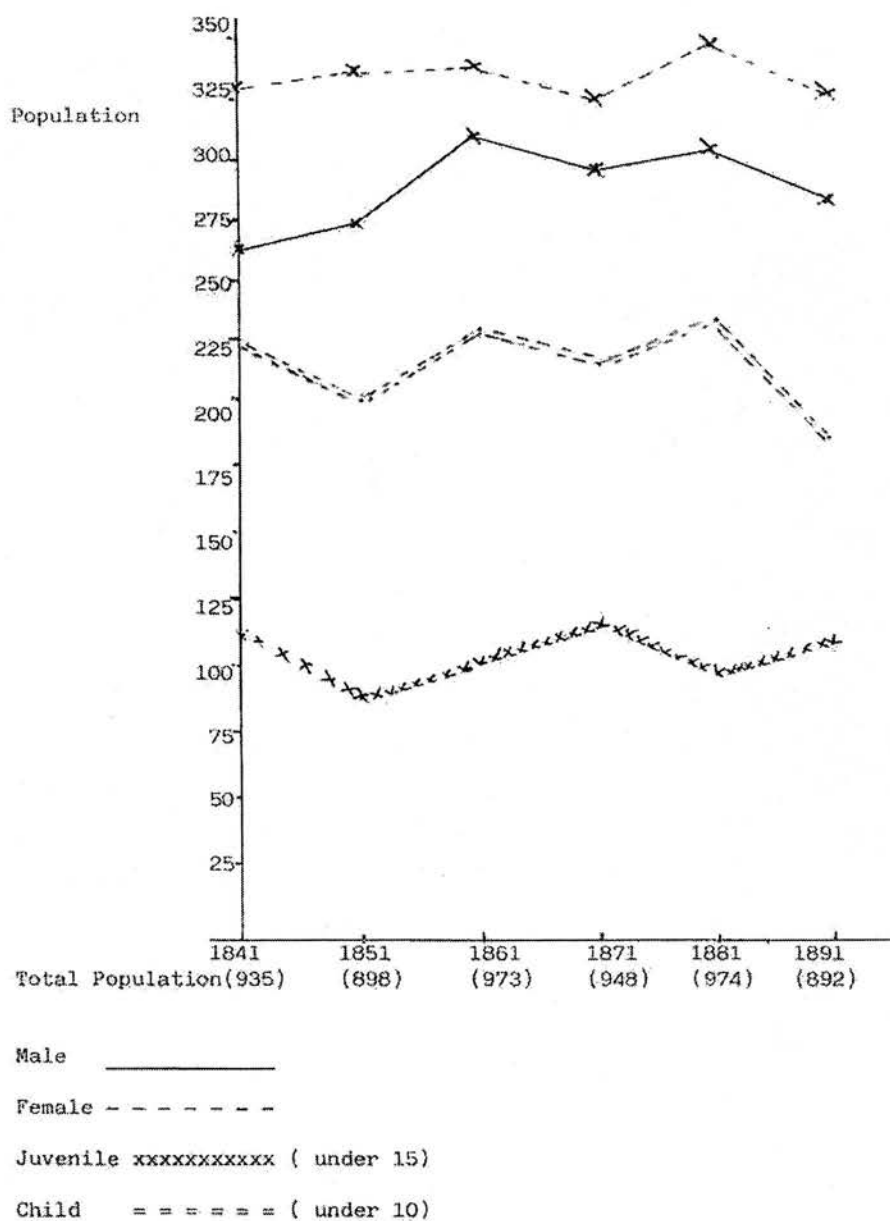
Wardhill Farm	1862 farm in L-plan in extremely poor state of repair. Abandoned.	No
Waterhouse Farm	L-plan pre-improvement farm with remnants of old windmill still visible. Poor state of repair. Uninhabited.	No
Weiland Cottage	Pre-improvement fishing cott, abandoned and in Poor repair.	No
Westhill Farm	Only outline of old pre-improvement farm remains with fragments of old byre and L-plan steading. Farmhouse has remnants of old walls in 1950's reconstruction.	Yes
West Leira Farm	On site of old quoyland farm of Laro. Original L-plan survives with renovated farmhouse and old byres.	No
Whitecleat Farm	L-plan design survives from pre-improvement moorside farm with mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century additions and 20 <sup>th</sup> century internal renovations.	No

## APPENDIX F Graphs A-E

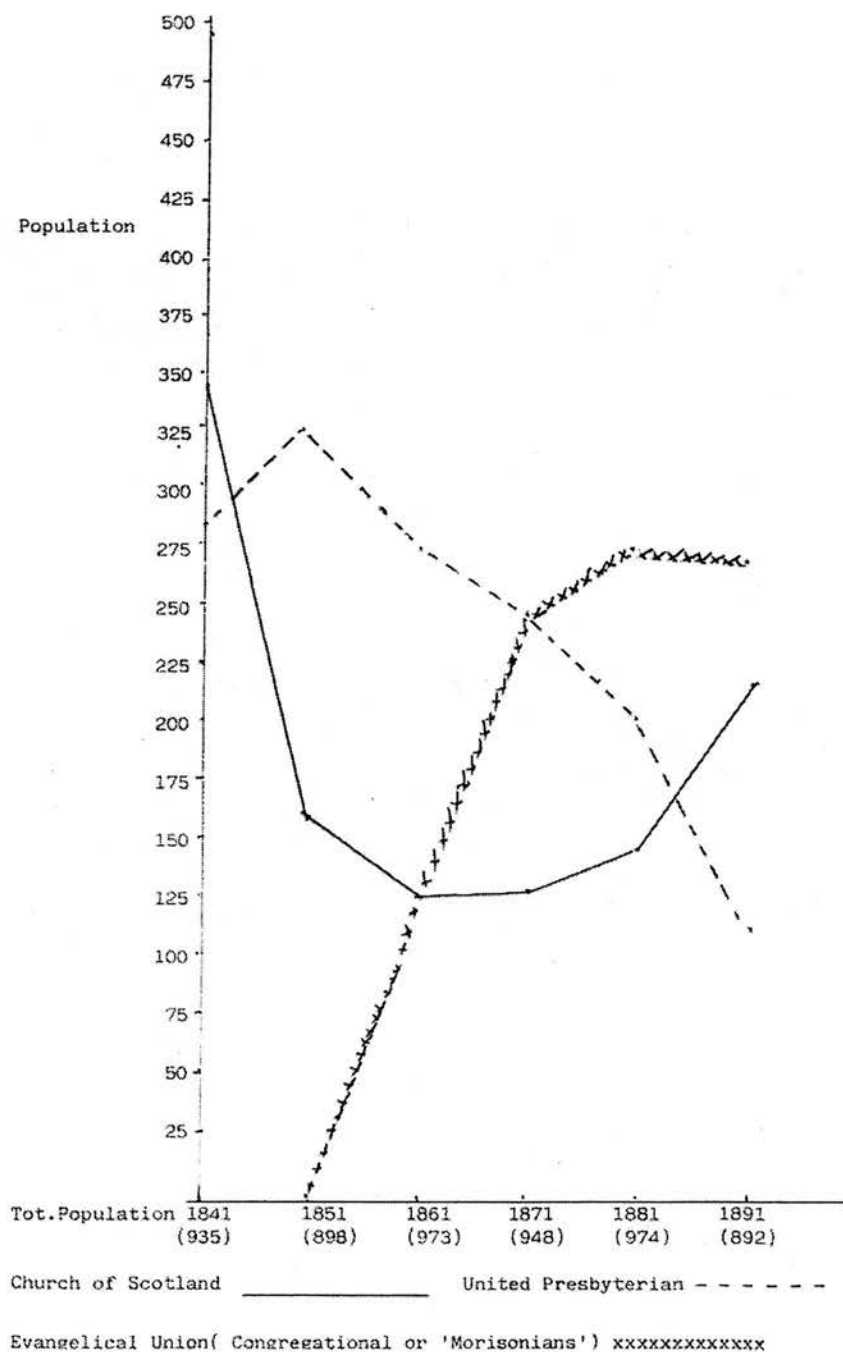
Graph A Occupational graph of Shapinsay( Adults, independant, or heading a family, -see graph D)



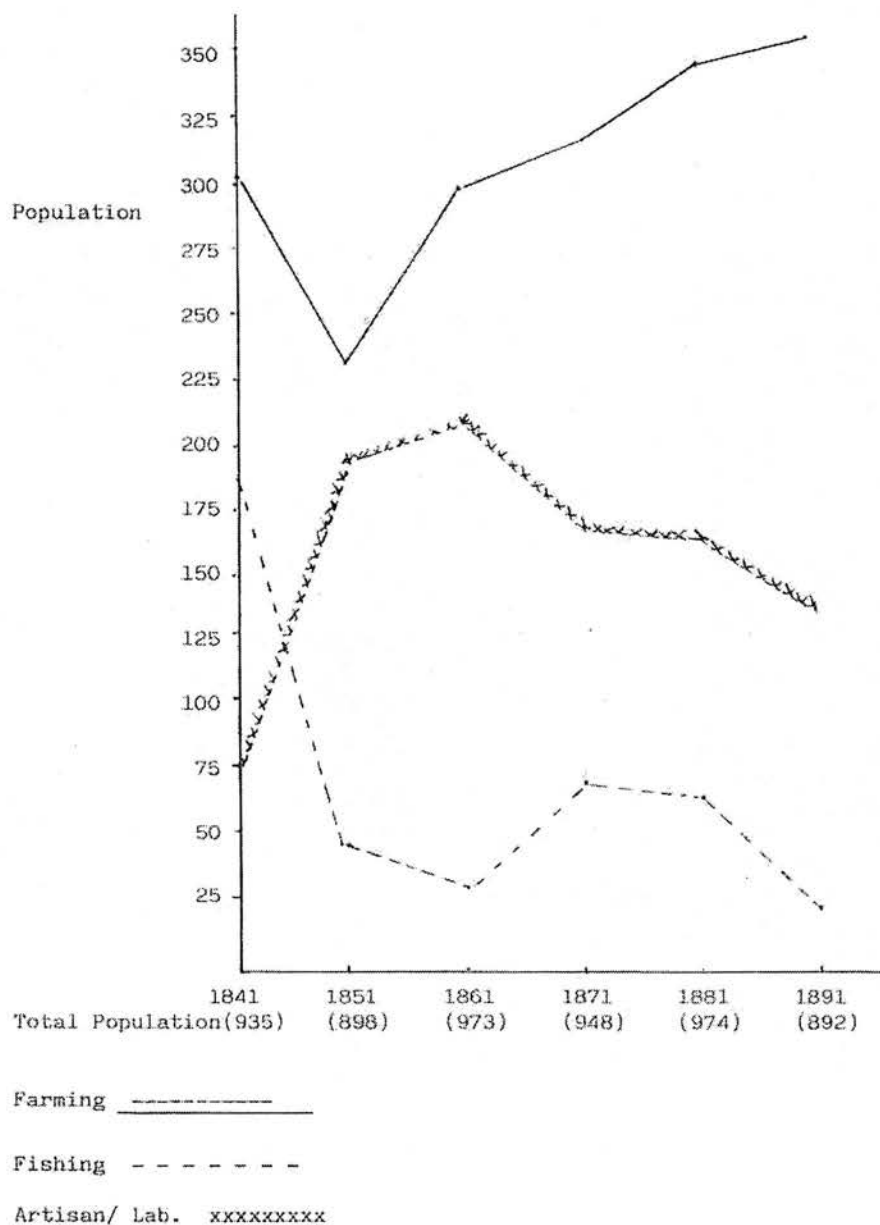
Graph B -Population graph of Shapinsay( Adult,Juvenile & Children)



Graph C - Religious affiliation graph for Shapinsay



Graph D- Dependants graph for Shapinsay ( based on occupation-see graph A)





**APPENDIX G****Valuation Rolls for the Island of Shapinsay, 1855-1878**

<u>Property</u>	<u>Year of Entry</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Valuation</u>
Agricola	1855	Magnus Work	£8/-/-
Astley Cottage	1867	Henry Willetts	£1/4/-
Balaclava	1855	William Russell	£10/-/-
Balfour Village	1855	Diverse	£25/-/-
Barebraes	1867	Thomas Russell	£1/-/-
Braefoot	1867	Thomas Omand	£1/-/-
Braeholland	1857	William Michael	£15/-/-
Brecks	1855	John Smith	£6/-/-
Brecks & Myers	1855	James Work	£8/-/-
Broadgreen	1875	Peter Maxwell	£3/-/-
Bu'house (f. Mounthooly)	1867	Peter Bews	£4/-/-
Bught	1855	George Sinclair	£1/10/-
Busgarth	1855	William Michael	£1/15/-
Caskald	1855	John Heddle	£12/-
Chapelbrae	1865	John Rendall	£-/16/-
Cleat	1855	Magnus Nicolson	£3/-/-
Comely Bank	1857	Magnus Hutchison	£1/-
Cot-on-the-Hill	1864	John Moodie	£1/-
Courthall	1857	Arthur Russell	£10/-
Crossgates	1864	James Hutchison	£1/3/-
Diggings	1855	James Work	£2/10/-
Easthouse	1855	James Heddle	£6/-/-

East Laird	1864	John Benslow	£6/-/-
Elwickbank (and Styel)	1855	Marcus Calder	£55/-/-
Elwick Mill	1855	Thomas Hepburn	£50/-/-
Fancy (or Bridegarth)	1855	Arthur Russell & William Donaldson	£12/-/-
Feaston	1855	Magnus Skea	£10/-/-
Flakimoss	1875	Sinclair Dunnett	£9/-/-
Fuag	1855	Thomas Shearer	£1/16/-
Furrowend	1855	Thomas Laughton	£3/-/-
Furstigarth	1855	James Meason	£11/-/-
Garth	1855	Thomas Nicolson	£8/-/-
Gebro	1855	John Skea	£3/-/-
Geostane	1875	William Work	£8/-/-
Girnigeo	1855	James Drever	£5/-/-
Glebe (Church of Scotland)	1855	James Irvine	£-/12/-
Grassquoy	1855	Charles Moodie & John Sinclair	£5/6/-
Greenataing	1855	Ann Hepburn	£-/5/-
Greenwall	1855	Thomas Russell	£2/-/-
Hacosness	1857	Charles Moodie	£3/-/-
Hannatofl	1855	Magnus Work	£30/-/-
Ha'quoy	1855	JohnHeddl	£30/-/-
Haroldsgarth	1855	James Hepburn	£12/10/-
Haughland	1867	James Sketheway	£1/-/-

Headgeo	1855	William Drever	£5/-/-
Hewan	1855	James Russell	£7/8/-
Helligeo	1864	William Work	£1/-/-
Hillside	1855	David Hepburn	£1/-/-
Houseby	1855	William Flett	£7/-/-
Howe	1855	Magnus Craigie	£25/10/-
Inkerman	1857	Peter Maxwell	£10/-/-
Kirkton	1855	James Kemp	£25/-/-
Lairosdale (see Odinstone)	1855	John Drever	£4/-/-
Lingro	1855	John Drever	£8/-/-
Linton	1855	Mary Hepburn	£14/-/-
Little Feaston	1855	William Work	£4/10/-
Little Sandgarth	1855	John Drummond	£5/-/-
Lochend (f. Dogtau)	1864	John Work	£-/10/-
Lufaness	1855	John Hepburn	£2/15/-
Manse & School (C. of Scot.)	1855	Rev. Thomas Scott	£45/-/-
Meanesstown (see Comely Bank)	1855	Magnus Hutchison	£1/10/-
Midhouse	1855	Thomas Bews	£5/10/-
Millburn	1867	John Shearer	£1/-/-
Monquhanny	1855	James Reid	£50/-/-
Moorstown (see Veantrow)	1855	James Irvine	£-/14/-
Mossbank	1864	John Irvine	£3/-/-
Mounthooly (see Bu'house)	1855	Peter Bews	£3/-/-
Mounthoolie	1855	David Laughton	£5/-/-

Mount Pleasant (see Balfour Mains)	1855	Thomas Work	£1/15/-
Musabist (or Ousebister)	1855	Magnus Bews	£4/-/-
Mussat (or Dogtau-see Lochend)	1855	John Work	£12/-/-
Ness	1855	John Dennison	£50/-/-
Nether Bigging	1855	John Michael	£12/-/-
New Bigging	1855	Thomas Bews	£1/12/-
New Cott (or Two)	1855	James Liddle	£1/-/-
Newfield	1855	William Donaldson	£4/-/-
Newfield Cottage	1857	William Work	£-/15/-
Newlot	1857	Samuel Hepburn	£1/-/-
Nisthouse	1855	John Inkster	£4/14/-
North Hill	1855	William Hepburn	£1/5/-
Odinstone	1855	James Work	£12/-/-
Ostoft	1855	John Skea	£4/16/-
Parkhall	1855	William Bews	£1/5/-
Parochial School	1855	George Hepburn	£2/10/-
Pekin (or Tea Ha')	1855	Thomas Shearer	£1/-/-
Pictou	1857	Peter Shearer	£1/-/-
Purtaquoy	1855	Magnus Michael	£3/-/-
Quholm	1855	Magnus Irvine	£7/-/-
Quoybanks	1855	Magnus Shearer	£3/10/-
Quoys	1855	Robert Reid	£10/-/-

Quoymoorhouse	1855	William Michael & John Scott £26/-/-
Roadside	1864	William Marcus £2/10/-
Rosecraigie	1855	James Work £3/6/-
Sandsgarth	1855	John Irvine £10/-/-
Sandsend	1855	Robert Sinclair £1/10/-
Sandston	1855	John Hepburn & William Swanney £2/-/-
Scarpigarth	1857	John Work £1/-/-
Sethaquoy	1855	William Nicolson £5/-/-
Sholtoquoy	1855	John Swanney £11/-/-
Skoenstoft	1855	Thomas Mouat £8/-/-
Society School	1855	David Hepburn £2/-/-
Sound	1855	Estate property £220/-
Steaquoy	1855	Magnus Irvine £5/-/-
Strathore	1855	John Fullerton £70/-
Swartaquoy	1855	William Groat £7/-
Tew	1855	James Nicolson £3/-
Troynhead	1859	John Moodie £1/--
U.P. Manse ( and one acre)	1855	Rev. J. Brown £6/-/-
Veantraw	1865	Thomas Irvine £2/10/-
Vedesquoy	1855	William Nicolson £5/-
Waltness	1855	George Frisken £50/-
Wardhill	1867	Thomas Thomson £1/-



Waterhouse	1855	William Liddle	£1/-
Weiland	1855	William Bews	£1/6/-
Westhill	1855	William Jolly	£25/-
West Laird	1864	Thomas Swanney	£1/-
Whitecleat	1855	Magnus Work	£7/-

The total valuation for the year 1855/6 was £1.025/-/- against the 'pre-improvement' figure of £484. By 1869/70 Shapinsay's property (excluding Balfour Castle and Balfour Mains Farm) the valuation was £1.661/7/-, rising to £1.894/14/- in 1875/6. 1885/6 saw the highest valuation, prior to the Great Agricultural Depression, of £2.309/-/9.

**APPENDIX H Index of Rentals for Shapinsay's Farms (1847-1871)**

<u>Farm</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1855</u>	<u>1870</u>
Astley Cottage	No Rent	£1/12/-	£1/12/-
Balaclava	No Rent	£11/-/-	£25/-/-
Barebrecks	No Rent	£3/-/-	£3/-/-
Braefoot	No Rent	£1/-/-	£1/-/-
Braeholland	No Rent	£15/-/-	£15/-/-
Brecks	£6/-/-	£15/-/-	£15/-/-
Brecks & Myers	£8/-/-	£12/-/-	£22/10/-
Broadgreen	No Rent	£1/7/6	£3/-/-
Bu'house	£3/-/-	£3/-/-	£4/-/-
Burnside	No Rent	£4/-/-	£4/-/-
Busgarth	£1/15/-	£4/4/-	£5/10/-
Caskald	£5/-/-	£15/-/-	£33/-/-
Cotbrae	No Rent	£1/-/-	£2/10/-
Cot-on the-Hill	£1/10/-	£1/10/-	£1/10/-
Courthall	£-/10/-	£3/-/-	£3/-/-
Crossgates	No Rent	£1/3/6	£10/10/-
Diggings	£2/10/-	£2/10/-	£3/10/-
Easthouse	£5/5/-	£8/-/-	£8/-/-
East Laird	No Rent	£6/-/-	£7/-/-
Elwick	£50/-/-	£14/-/-	£14/-/-
Feaston	£4/-/-	£7/-/-	£7/-/-
Flakimoss	No Rent	£5/-/-	£9/-/-

Fuag	£1/16/-	£3/10/-	£3/10/-
Furrowend	£3/-/-	£7/10/-	£7/10/-
Furstigarth	£4/-/-	£15/10/-	£15/10/-
Garth	£3/10/-	£20/-/-	£28/-/-
Gebro	£8/-/-	£5/-/-	£10/-/-
Girnigeo	£6/-/-	£6/10/-	£14/-/-
Grassquoy	£6/-/-	£5/6/-	£9/-/-
Greenataing	£5/-/-	£5/-/-	£1/-/-
Greenwall	£2/-/-	£4/-/-	£4/-/-
Ha'breck	No Rent	No Rent	£2/-/-
Hamar	No Rent	£1/-/-	£1/-/-
Hannatoft	£27/6/-	£24/4/-	£40/-/-
Ha'quoy	£13/-/-	£24/-/-	£50/-/-
Haroldsgarth	£9/1/10	£12/10/-	£24/-/-
Haughland	No Rent	£-/10/-	£3/-/-
Headgeo	£4/-/-	£13/-/-	£20/-/-
Helligeo	£1/-/-	£1/-/-	£3/-/-
Hestivald	No Rent	£3/-/-	£9/-/-
Hewan	£7/8/5	£25/-/-	£28/-/-
Hillside	No Rent	No Rent	£10/-/-
Hilton	£8/-/-	£88/-/-	£130/-/-
Houseby	£6/7/-	£9/-/-	£9/-/-
Howe	£25/10/-	£40/-/-	£65/-/-
Inkerman	No Rent	£15/-/-	£15/-/-

Kirkton	£20/-/-	£20/-/-	£20/-/-
Lingro	£3/-/-	£14/-/-	£14/-/-
Linton	£8/-/-	£17/10/-	£17/10/-
Little Feaston	£-/14/-	£5/10/-	£5/10/-
Little Sandsgarth	£5/-/-	£8/-/-	£10/-/-
Lochend	No Rent	£-/10/-	£3/-/-
Lucknow	No Rent	£17/-/-	£17/-/-
Luckston	No Rent	£1/-/-	£1/-/-
Lufaness	£2/15/8	£3/16/7	£3/16/7
Midhouse	£2/-/-	£2/-/-	£5/10/-
Monquhanny	£28/7/-	£50/-/-	£90/-/-
Mossbank	No Rent	£3/-/-	£3/-/-
Mounthoolie	£5/-/-	£11/-/-	£11/-/-
Ness	£28/8/6	£30/-/-	£95/-/-
Nether Bigging	£13/-/-	£28/-/-	£28/-/-
Newfield	No Rent	£25/-/-	£20/-/-
Newfield Cottage	No Rent	No Rent	£1/-/-
Newhouse	No Rent	No Rent	£2/10/-
Newlot	No Rent	£1/-/-	£1/5/-
Nisthouse	£4/14/-	£6/-/-	£12/-/-
North Hill	No Rent	£2/10/-	£12/10/-
Odin	No Rent	£2/-/-	£2/-/-
Odinstone	£2/-/-	£6/-/-	£80/-/-
Old School	No Rent	No Rent	£12/-/-

Onsetauh	No Rent	£-/10/-	£-/10/-
Ostoft	£4/10/-	£4/10/-	£9/-/-
Parkhall	No Rent	£5/18/-	£14/-/-
Pekin	No Rent	£1/-/-	£1/-/-
Pictou	No Rent	£4/4/-	£4/4/-
Purtaquoy	£3/-/-	£5/-/-	£5/5/-
Quholm	£5/-/-	£7/-/-	£16/-/-
Quoybanks	£3/10/-	£8/-/-	£10/-/-
Quoymoorhouse	£18/-/-	£45/-/-	£50/-/-
Roadside	No Rent	£2/10/-	£11/-/-
Rosecraigie	£3/6/10	£11/-/-	£22/-/-
Sandsend	£1/10/-	£1/10/-	£12/-/-
Sandsgarth	£3/5/-	£10/-/-	£14/-/-
Scarpigarth	No Rent	£1/-/-	£1/1/-
Sholtoquoy	£9/-/-	£24/-/-	£24/-/-
Skoenstoft	£10/10/-	£11/-/-	£11/-/-
Smithstown	£-/5/-	£-/5/-	£-/5/-
Steaquoy	£4/4/-	£13/-/-	£17/-/-
Stenso	No Rent	No Rent	£2/-/-
Strathore	£30/-/-	£84/1/2	£110/-/-
Swartaquoy	£13/-/-	£9/-/-	£9/-/-
Troynhead	No Rent	No Rent	£3/-/-
Veanthro	£-/14/-	£2/10/-	£2/10/-
Vedesquoy	£5/-/-	£5/-/-	£12/-/-



Waltness	£3/10/-	£30/-/-	£110/-/-
Wardhill	No Rent	£4/10/-	£5/-/-
Waterhouse	£-/15/-	£2/-/-	£2/-/-
West Laird	No Rent	£5/10/-	£5/10/-
Whitecleat	£7/10/-	£7/10/-	£12/10/-
Totals	£477/18/3	£1.023/1/9	£1.663/2/7

# APPENDIX I Location of Tenants on Shapinsay (1841-1871)

<u>Farm</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Agricola	Magnus Work	Magnus Work	James Cooper	Balfour M.
Astley Cottage	-----	-----	-----	H.Willetts
Babylon	-----	-----	-----	John Work
Balaclava	Jas. Stevenson	Wm. Harcus	Wm. Russell	E.Russell
Barebrecks	-----	-----	Thos.Russell	T.Russell
Bought	Jas. Russell	Geo. Sinclair	Balfour Mains Farm	
Braefoot	-----	-----	Thos. Omand	Th.Omand
Braeholland	-----	-----	Wm. Michael	W.Michael
Hamar	Wm. Flett	Thos. Flett	Thos. Flett	T. Flett
Brechan	John Scott	Absorbed into Balfour Mains Farm		
Brecks	John Smith	John Smith	John Smith	J. Smith
Brecks & Myers	James Work	James Work	James Work	Wm.Work
Broadgreen	-----	-----	-----	P.Maxwell
Brodgar	Wm. Hume	Absorbed into Balfour Mains Farm		
Bu'house	Peter Bews	Peter Bews	Peter Bews	M.Heddle
Burnside	-----	-----	John Shearer	J.Shearer
Burnside Cottage	Marg. Heddle	J. & W. Scott	Jas. Smith	C.Philmster
Busgarth	Thos. Work	Wm. Michael	Wm. Michael	D. Scott
Canada	J. Sketheway	J.Sketheway	Wm. Heddle	-----
Caskald	John Heddle	John Heddle	John Heddle	J. Heddle
Cathan	Thos. Shearer	Absorbed into Balfour Mains Farm		

Chapelbrae	-----	-----	John Rendall	I. Heddle
Cleat	Wm. Michael	M. Nicolson	Jas. Work	J. Work
Comely Bank	-----	M. Hutchison	M.Hutchison	M.Hutchison
Cooperhall	John Drever	Absorbed into Balfour Mains Farm		
Cotbrae	-----	-----	-----	J.Shearer
Cot-on-the-Hill	-----	Thos.Shearer	-----	-----
Courthall	Arthur Russell	A. Russell	Mag. Russell	Jas.Drever
Cowbraes	Marion Cooper	Joh.Stevenson	Isab. Russell	Balfour M.
Crossgates	-----	-----	J. Hutchison	M.Hutchison
Damside	John Heddle	Jas. Hutchison	Absorbed into Broadgreen	
Diggings	James Work	James Work	James Work	Jas.Work
Dogspaw	Ann Heddle	Ann Heddle	James Liddle	-----
Easthouse	James Heddle	James Heddle	James Heddle	W.Irvine
East Laird	-----	-----	James Allan	J.Benslow
Edmeston	-----	-----	-----	W.Irvine
Elwick	George Bell	Thos. Hepburn	D. Laughton	D.Laughton
Elwickbank	Thos. Rendall	Mag. Hepburn	Marcus Calder	M.Calder
Feaston	Magnus Shearer	Mag. Shearer	Mag. Shearer	M.Shearer
Flakimoss	-----	-----	Sin. Dunnett	S.Dunnett
Fuag	Thos. Shearer	Thos. Shearer	Jas. Shearer	J.Shearer
Furrowend	Marg. Heddle	Thos. Laughton	T. Laughton	T.Laughton
Furstigarth	James Meason	James Meason	Jas. Meason	J.Meason
Gairbrow	Isa. Heddle	Marg. Reid	Absorbed into Balfour M.	
Ganderbrake	John Hepburn	John Hepburn	Sam. Hepburn	-----

Garth	Thos. Nicolson	Thos. Nicolson	James Harcus	P. Bews
Gebro	Mag. Hutchison	John Skea	John Skea	J. Skea
Geostane	-----	-----	-----	M.Nicolson
Girnigeo	James Drever	James Drever	Jas. Drever	W.Drever
Grassquoy	David Work	Wm. Swanney	John Sinclair	J.Sinclair
Greenataing	John Jones	John Jones	John Jones	R.Shearer
Greenataing Slap	Ann Stevenson	Wm. Liddle	-----	-----
Greenwall	Thos. Russell	Thos. Russell	Thos. Russell	T.Russell
Grind	-----	-----	Thos. Work	E. Work
Gorn of Sound	John Drever	Absorbed into Balfour Mains Farm.		
Ha'breck	-----	-----	J. Hutchison	J.Hutchison
Hamar	see Brake			
Hannatoft	J. & M. Work	Mag. Work	Mag. Work	M.Work
Ha'quoy	John Heddle	John Heddle	John Heddle	J.Heddle
Haroldsgarth	James Hepburn	Magnus Craigie	Mag. Craigie	M.Craigie
Haughland	-----	-----	J. Sketheway	Sketheway
Headgeo	Wm. Drever	Wm. Drever	Wm.Drever	W.Drever
Hellige	-----	-----	Wm. Work	M.Work
Hestivald	-----	-----	Jo. Hourston	J.Hourston
Hewan	James Russell	Jas. Russell	J. Russell	J.Russell
Hillhead	David Skea	Marion Heddle	Chr. Russell	-----
Hillside	-----	James Shearer	Wm. Reid	J. Reid
Hilton	J. & M. Irvine	Peter Campbell	P. Campbell	Campbell
Houseby	Wm. Flett	Wm. Flett	Wm. Flett	Wm.Flett

Howe	Mag. Craigie	Mag. Craigie	M. Craigie	W.Craigie
Inganess	-----	Mag. Work	Ness Farm	
Inkerman	-----	-----	Peter Maxwell	J.Drever
Inquiver	Magnus Work	Absorbed in Ness Farm		
Kirkton	Wm. Hepburn	Wm. Hepburn	James Kemp	R.Kemp
Lingro	John Drever	John Drever	John Drever	J.Drever
Linton	James Hepburn	Mary Hepburn	Mary Hepburn	Hepburn
Little Feaston	Peter Shearer	Wm. Work	Wm. Work	W.Work
Little sandsgarth	John Drummond	Jo. Drummond	Drummond	Drummond
Littlequoy	Marg. Cumming	Absorbed in Strathore		
Lochend	John Work	John Work	John Work	J.Work
Lucknow	-----	Mal. Nicolson	Rob.Sinclair	Sinclair
Luckston	-----	-----	Jas.Michael	J.Michael
Lufaness	Peter Hepburn	Jas. Hepburn	Jo. Hepburn	Hepburn
Manse Farm (Glebe)	-----	David Coghill	-----	P.Shearer
Midhouse	Thomas Bews	Thos. Bews	Thos. Bews	J.Inkster
Monquhanny	John Liddle	James Reid	James Reid	J.Reid
Moss	-----	David Scott	-----	-----
Mossbank	-----	-----	John Irvine	J.Irvine
Mounthoolie	David Scott	David Laughton	James Work	Nicolson
Ness	James Reid	John Dennison	Dennison	Dennison
Nether Bigging	John Michael	John Michael	M.Michael	Michael
Newbraes	James Work	James Work	Eliz. Work	E.Work
Newfield	-----	-----	R.Ramshaw	J.Bews



New Gorn	-----	Wm. Gullion	Wm.Gullion	W.Work
Newhouse	-----	-----	-----	J.Russell
NewLights	John Heddle	John Heddle	M. Heddle	Heddle
Newlot	See Ganderbrake			S.Hepburn
Nisthouse	James Shearer	James Shearer	J.Inkster	D.Inkster
North Hill	-----	Wm. Hepburn	W.Hepburn	Hepburn
Odin	-----	-----	Ez.Mouat	J.Jones
Odinstone	Wm.Russell	John Drever	T.Rendall	T.Rendall
Onzetauh	-----	-----	-----	Alex.Gunn
Ostoft	John Skea	John Skea	J.Skea	D.Skea
Ousebister	George Leslie	Magnus Bews	Mg.Bews	-----
Ousequoy	Wm. Heddle	Thos. Seatter	J.Nicolson	M.Heddle
Parkhall	Mag. Swanney	Mag, Swanney	Wm.Bews	W. Bews
Pekin	Thos. Shearer	Thos.Shearer	T.Shearer	T.Shearer
Petra	-----	-----	W.Sketheway	Skethaway
Pictou	-----	Peter Shearer	P.Shearer	J.Allan
Poolend	Wm.Nicolson	-----	-----	-----
Purtaquoy	Mag. Michael	Mag. Michael	M.Michael	Michael
Quholm	James Irvine	Mag. Irvine	M.Irvine	M.Irvine
Quoybanks	Mag.Williamson	Mag. Shearer	M.Shearer	J.Allan
Quoymoorhouse	John Scott	John Scott	John Scott	J.Scott
Quoys	Robert Reid	Robert Reid	See Ness Farm	
Redbanks	James Cooper	James Cooper	Mag. Work	-----
Roadside	-----	-----	W.Harcus	W.Harcus

Rose Cottage	-----	-----	-----	H.Jeffrey
Rosecraigie	Wm. Work	Wm. Craigie	Jas.Work	Jas.Work
Runabout	James Shearer	Wm.Russell	See Waltness Farm	
Sandsend	Rob. Sinclair	Rob. Sinclair	R.Sinclair	Sinclair
Sandsgarth	John Irvine	John Irvine	J.Irvine	J.Irvine
Scarpigarth	David Guthrie	Thos. Guthrie	Joh.Work	J.Work
Sethaquoy	Wm.Nicolson	Wm.Nicolson	W.Nicolson	-----
Sholtoquoy	John Swanney	John Swanney	J.Swanney	Swanney
Shuttlefield	James Liddle	James Liddle	see Strathore Farm	
Skoenstoft	Thos. Mouat	Thos. Mouat	T.Mouat	T.Mouat
Smithstown	Sib. Gullion	Peter Maxwell	Sib.Inkster	W.Lovat
Snesquoy	John Laughton	Wm. Heddle	-----	-----
Society School	David Hepburn	David Hepburn	D.Hepburn	Hepburn
Stand Pretty	-----	William Work	-----	-----
Steaquoy	Mag.Irvine	Mag.Irvine	Jn.Irvine	Jas.Reid
Stenso	-----	-----	-----	Wm.Work
Strathore	John Dennison	Jas.Fullerton	Fullerton	Robertson
Swartaquoy	James Work	Wm. Groat	Jn. Groat	T.Groat
Tew	Jas.Nicolson	Joh.Nicolson	J.Nicolson	Nicolson
Trattleton	Wm. Work	Marg.Russell	J.Cadger	C.Matches
Troynhead	-----	-----	J.Moodie	-----
Upper Bigging	Thomas Bews	Thos. Bews	Th.Bews	Jo.Bews
Veantro	James Irvine	James Irvine	Jas.Irvine	T.Irvine
Veaquoy	James Work	Marg. Heddle	-----	-----

Vedesquoy	Mal. Nicolson	Wm.Nicolson	W.Nicolson	Nicolson
Waltness	Wm. Work	George Frisken	G.Frisken	W.Heddle
Wardhill	-----	-----	T.Thomson	Thomson
Waterhouse	Jas.Stevenson	Eliz.Stevenson	Wm.Liddle	W.Liddle
Waterhousemire	Marg. Heddle	Eliz. Heddle	Eliz.Heddle	-----
Waterslap	Hen. Nicolson	Hen.Nicolson	-----	-----
Westhill	Magnus Bews	Alex. McKenzie	Wm. Jolly	J.Campbell
Westhouse	Jas. Liddle	Jas.Liddle	-----	-----
West Laird	Wm. Work	James Work	T.Swanney	Swanney
Westoun	Mag. Hepburn	-----	-----	-----
Whistlebare	Wm. Work	John Craigie	-----	-----
Whitecleat	John Shearer	John Shearer	Mag. Work	M.Work
Widewalls	James Work	James Work	Rob.Stevenson	-----

# APPENDIX J Movement of Tenants on Shapinsay, 1841-1871

<u>Name</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
James Allan	-----	-----	East Lairò	Quoybanks
John Allan	-----	-----	East Lairò	Pictou
George Bell	Elwick	-----	-----	-----
William Bell	Elwick	-----	Balfour Village	
John Benslow	-----	-----	-----	East Lairò
Magnus Bews	Westhill	Ousebister	Ousebister	Parkhall
Peter Bews	Mounthooley	Mounthooley	Bu'house	Garth
John Bews	Balfour Vill.	Balfour Vill.		
Thomas Bews	Upper Bigging	Upper Bigging	Upper Bigging	Upper Bigging
Thomas Bews	Midhouse	Midhouse	Midhouse	Newfield
William Bews	Westhill	Ousebister	Parkhall	Parkhall
James Bews	-----	Mounthooley	Balfour Mains	
John Bews	-----	-----	Balfour Vill.	Waterhouse
Joe Cadger	-----	-----	Trattleton	-----
Marcus Calder	-----	Balfour Castle	Elwickbank	
Peter Campbell	-----	Stye	Hilton	Hilton
John Campbell	-----	-----	-----	Westhill
Elizabeth Clark	-----	Balfour Village	-----	-----
Donald Coghill	-----	Manse Farm	-----	-----
John Coghill	-----	Sound	-----	-----
James Cooper	Redbanks of Vasator	-----	Agricola	Balfour Vill.
Thomas Cooper	-----	-----	Balfour Village	

William Cormack	-----	-----	-----	Westhill
William Corsie	-----	-----	Greenwall	-----
Magnus Craigie	Howe	Howe	Howe	Howe
William Craigie	-----	Rosecraigie	-----	-----
John Craigie	-----	Whistlebare	-----	-----
Magnus Craigie	-----	Haroldsgarth	Haroldsgarth	
David Craigie	-----	-----	Balfour Village	-----
Alexander Craigie	-----	-----	Balfour Village	
John Cutt	-----	-----	-----	Balfour Vill.
John Dennison	Wieland	Ness	Ness	Ness
Thomas Donaldson	Shoreside	-----	-----	-----
William Donaldson	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
John Drever	Gorn of Sound	Larodale	Larodale	Inkerman
John Drever	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
William Drever	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	-----
John Drever	Cooperhall	Kirkhill	-----	-----
John Drever	Girnigeo	Girnigeo	Girnigeo	
John Drever	Lingro	Lingro	Lingro	Lingro
William Drever	Headgeo	Headgeo	Headgeo	Headgeo
James Drever	Girnigeo	Larodale	Hewan	Courthall
John Drever	-----	-----	-----	Balfour Vill
Andrew Drummond	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	-----
John Drummond	Little Sandsgarth	Little Sandsgarth	Little Sandsgarth	
William Duncan	-----	-----	-----	Elwickbank



Sinclair Dunnett	-----	Veaquoy	Flakimoss	
James Durham	-----	-----	Balfour Village	----
James Flett	Houseby	Houseby	Houseby	Houseby
Thomas Flett	-----	Hamar	Hamar	Hamar
David Foubister	-----	-----	-----	Ness
George Frisken	-----	Waltness	Waltness	----
George Frisken	-----	Sound	-----	-----
William Frisken	-----	-----	Runabout	----
James Fullerton	-----	Strathore	Strathore	-----
William Groat	Shoreside	Swartaquoy	Swartaquoy	
James Gullion	-----	-----	Roadside	Courthall
William Gullion	New Gorn	New Gorn	New Gorn	-----
Peter Gunn	-----	-----	Strathore	Onzetauh
Thomas Guthrie	Ness Nap	Scarpigarth	-----	-----
James Harcus	-----	-----	Garth	-----
William Harcus	-----	-----	Roadside	
William Harcus	-----	Millfield	Balaclava	Redbanks
John Hay	-----	-----	-----	Ness
James Heddle	Furrowend	-----	-----	----
William Heddle	Burnside	-----	-----	----
William Heddle	Shoreside	Snesquoy	Balfour Village	
John Heddle	Little Sandsgarth	-----	-----	-----
John Heddle	Damside	New Lights	New Lights	-----

William Heddle	Ousequoy	Balfour Village	-----	-----
Margaret Heddle	Waterhouse	Heatherhouse	Heatherhouse	-----
James Heddle	Easthouse	Easthouse	Easthouse	-----
Isabella Heddle	Gairbro	son to	Canada	Waltness
John Heddle	Caskald	Caskald	Caskald	Caskald
John Heddle	Ha'quoy	Ha'quoy	Ha'quoy	Ha'quoy
Malcolm Heddle	-----	-----	Balfour Mains Bu'house	
Isabella Heddle	-----	-----	-----	Chapelbrae
Charles Heddle	-----	-----	-----	Houseby
Magnus Hepburn	Westoun	Elwickbank	-----	-----
Thomas Hepburn	Nesfoot	-----	-----	-----
James Hepburn	Haroldsgarth	Haroldsgarth		Haroldsgarth
John Hepburn	Ganderbrake	Ganderbrake	Ganderbrake	Newlot
Peter Hepburn	Lufaness	Lufaness (son to)	Lufaness	Lufaness
William Hepburn	Kirkton	Kirkton	-----	-----
James Hepburn	Linton	Linton	Linton (son to)	Linton
Thomas Hepburn	-----	Elwick	-----	-----
William Hepburn	Linton	North Hill		North Hill
John Hourston	-----	-----		Hestivald
William Hume	Brodgar	Balfour Vill.	Balfour Lodge	Balfour V
Magnus Hutchison	Gebro	Newhouse		Comely Bank
James Hutchison	Westhill	Damside	Crossgates (son)	Crossgates
Thomas Hutchison	Dogspaw	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	-----
Thomas Hutchison	-----	-----	Balfour Village	

James Hutchison	-----	-----	Ha'breck	Ha'breck
John Inkster	-----	Balfour Mains	Nisthouse	Nisthouse
John Inkster	-----	-----	-----	Midhouse
James Irvine	Mount Pleasant	Balfour Village	-----	-----
Thomas Irvine	Shoreside	Balfour Village	-----	-----
John Irvine	Sandsgarth	Sandsgarth		Sandsgarth
Magnus Irvine	Steaquoy	Steaquoy	Steaquoy	-----
John Irvine	Upper Styé	Upper Styé	-----	-----
Magnus Irvine	Nether Styé	Bought	Veantro (son)	Veantro
Magnus Irvine	Quholm	Quholm	Quholm	Quholm
James Irvine	Quholm	Quoys	-----	-----
John Irvine	-----	-----	Mossbank	Mossbank
William Irvine	-----	-----	Easthouse	Easthouse
James Irvine	-----	-----	-----	Newlot
William Irvine	-----	-----	-----	Edmeston
Henry Jeffrey	-----	-----	-----	Rose Cott.
Benjamin Johnstone	-----	-----		Balfour Village
James Johnstone	-----	-----	-----	Balfour Vill.
William Jolly	-----	Strathore	Westhill	Strathore
John Jones	Greenataing	Greenataing	Greenataing	Aith
James Kemp	-----	-----	Kirkton (son to)	Kirkton
David Laughton	-----	Mounthoolie	Elwick	Elwick
David Laughton	-----	-----	-----	Balacclava
John Laughton	Snesquoy	-----	-----	-----

John Laughton	-----	-----	-----	Balfour Mains
Thomas Laughton	Shoreside	Furrowend	Furrowend	Furrowend
William Laughton	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
John Learmonth	-----	-----	Newfield	Balfour V.
Alexander Leask	-----	-----	Howe	Howe
Simon Leitch	-----	-----	-----	Elwickbank
George Leslie	Ousebister	Balfour Castle	Sound	-----
William Liddle	Shoreside	Balfour Village		
William Liddle	Shoreside	Greenataing Slap	Waterhouse	
Esther Liddle	Little Feaston	Greenataing Slap	-----	-----
John Liddle	Gorn	Gorn	-----	-----
James Liddle	Westhouse	Westhouse	Tew	-----
James Liddle	Gorn	Balfour Village	Balfour Vill.	-----
John Liddle	Gorn	Balfour Village	Balfour Castle	Balfour V.
Jane Linklater	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
William Lovat	-----	-----	-----	Little Gorn
Sinclair McAdie	-----	-----	Balfour Mains	
Donald McIntosh	-----	-----	Balfour Village	
Alexander McKenzie	-----	Westhill	-----	-----
James McRobbie	-----	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
William Matches	-----	-----	Strathore	Trattleton
Peter Maxwell	New Gorn	Little Gorn	Inkerman	Broadgreen
James Meason	Furstigarth	Furstigarth	Furstigarth	
Magnus Michael	Purtaquoy	Purtaquoy	Purtaquoy(son) Purtaquoy	

William Michael	Busgarth	Busgarth	Busgarth	-----
William Michael	Quoymoorhouse	Quoymoorhouse	-----	-----
James Michael	New Gorn	-----	-----	-----
William Michael	Cleat	Gateside	Braeholland	
William Michael	-----	-----	Braeholland	Balfour V.
John Michael	Bigging	Bigging	Bigging	Bigging
James Michael	-----	-----	Luckston	Luckston
Robert Miller	-----	-----	Runabout	-----
John Moodie	-----	-----	Troynhead	-----
Charles Moodie	-----	-----	Hacosness	Hacosness
Thomas Mouat	Skoenstoft	Skoenstoft	Skoenstoft	
Betty Mouat	-----	-----	Aith	-----
Thomas Nicolson	-----	Balfour Village	-----	-----
Thomas Nicolson	Garth	Garth	Garth	Burnhouse
William Nicolson	Sethaquoy	Sethaquoy	Sethaquoy Mounthoolie	
Henry Nicolson	Waterslap	Waterslap	Manse Farm	Caskald
James Nicolson	Tew	Tew	Tew	Tew
William Nicolson	Poolend	Vedesquoy	Vedesquoy	Vedesquoy
Malcolm Nicolson	Vedesquoy	Cleat	Elwick	-----
James Nicolson	-----	Vedesquoy	Housequoy	-----
Magnus Nicolson	-----	-----	Balfour Village	-----
Malcolm Nicolson	-----	Vedesquoy	Vedesquoy	Geostane
Christian Nicolson	-----	-----	-----	Hannatoft
John Nicolson	-----	-----	-----	Hannatoft



Thomas Omand	-----	-----	Braefoot	Braefoot
John Peace	Shoreside	Balfour Village	-----	-----
John Peace	Shoreside	Balfour Village(widow)	Balfour Village	
William Peace	Shoreside	-----	-----	-----
John Peace	-----	Balfour Village	-----	-----
William Philmster	-----	Hannatoft	Balfour Mains	
Ralph Ramshaw	-----	-----	Newfield	Balfour C.
George Reid	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
Robert Reid	Quoys	Quoys (son to)	Quoys	Steaquoy
James Reid	Ness	Gorn	Monquhanny	
James Reid	-----	Quholm	-----	-----
William Reid	-----	-----	Hillside (son)	Hillside
John Reid	-----	-----	-----	Balfour V.
Thomas Rendall	Sound	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
Thomas Rendall	Elwickbank	Elwickbank	-----	-----
Thomas Rendall	Elwickbank	Kirkton	Odinstone	Odinstone
John Rendall	-----	Elwickbank	Chapelbrae	-----
Alexander Robertson	Balfour Castle	Sound	Sound	Sound
James Robertson	-----	-----	-----	Strathore
James Russell	Hewan	Hewan (son to)	Hewan	Hewan
Arthur Russell	Courthalls	Fancy	-----	-----
William Russell	Larodale	Runabout	Balaclava	-----
Thomas Russell	Greenwall	Greenwall	Greenwall	Greenwall
William Russell	Shoreside	Balfour Village	-----	-----

Thomas Russell	Shoreside	-----	-----	-----
Christian Russell	Nether Styne	-----	-----	-----
Henry Russell	Larodale	Balfour Village	-----	-----
James Russell	Hewan	Balfour Village	-----	-----
Thomas Russell	-----	-----	Barebraes	Barebraes
Jane Russell	-----	-----	Newhouse	Newhouse
John Sclater	-----	-----	-----	Balfour V.
John Scott	Brechan	Burnside	-----	-----
David Scott	Mounthooley	-----	-----	-----
John Scott	Quoymoorhouse	Quoymoorhouse	Quoymoorhouse	
David Scott	-----	-----	-----	Busgarth
John Scott	-----	-----	Balfour Village	
Thomas Seater	Sound	Ousequoy	-----	-----
James Shearer	Runabout	Hilltown	-----	-----
Thomas Shearer	Cathan	Cot-on-the-Hill	-----	-----
John Shearer	Whitecleat	Whitecleat	-----	-----
Magnus Shearer	Feaston	Feaston	Feaston	Feaston
Peter Shearer	Little Feaston	Little Feaston	Pictou (son to) Lingro	
Thomas Shearer	Fuag	Fuag (son to)	Fuag	Faug
Thomas Shearer	Niers	Niers	Pekin	Pekin
James Shearer	Nisthouse	Nisthouse	-----	-----
Magnus Shearer	Runabout	Quoybanks	Quoybanks	-----
John Shearer	-----	-----	Millburn	Burnside
John Shearer	-----	-----	-----	Cotbrae

Peter Shearer	-----	-----	-----	Manse Farm
Robert Shearer	-----	-----	-----	Greenataing
Thomas Shearer	-----	-----	-----	Feaston
George Sinclair	Bought	Bought	Bought	Balfour V.
Robert Sinclair	Sound	-----	-----	-----
James Sinclair	Hannatof	-----	-----	-----
Robert Sinclair	Sandsend	Sandsend	Sandsend	Sandsend
Robert Sinclair	-----	Balfour Village	Lucknow	Lucknow
John Sinclair	-----	-----	Grassquoy	Grasquoy
John Skea	Hillhead	Gebro	Gebro	Gebro
John Skea	Ostoft	Ostoft	Ostoft (son to)	Ostoft
William Skea	-----	-----	Sound	-----
Robert Sketheway	Shoreside	Balfour Village	-----	-----
William Sketheway	Shoreside	-----	-----	-----
James Sketheway	Gateside	Canada	Canada	
James Sketheway	-----	-----	Haughland	Haughland
William Sketheway	-----	-----	Petra	Petra
Thomas Smith	Sound	Balfour Village	Balfour V.	-----
John Smith	Brecks	Brecks	Brecks	Brecks
Jane Smith	-----	-----	Burnside	-----
John Spence	-----	-----	-----	Balfour V.
Robert Stevenson	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
John Stevenson	Brecks	Cowbraes	-----	-----
James Stevenson	Millfield	----- (son to)	Balfour Village	

James Stevenson	Waterhouse	Waterhouse	-----	-----
Robert Stevenson	-----	-----	Widewalls	-----
John Stevenson	-----	Balfour Village	Steaquoy	-----
Magnus Swanney	Parkhall	Parkhall	-----	-----
William Swanney	Grassquoy	Grassquoy	-----	-----
John Swanney	Sholtoquoy	Sholtoquoy	Sholtoquoy	
Thomas Swanney	-----	-----	West Lair	W. Lair
John Swanney	-----	-----	-----	Furrowend
William Tait	-----	Balfour Castle	Balfour V.	Balfour Ldg
Thomas Thomson	-----	-----	Wardhill	Wardhill
John Tinch	-----	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
Richard Towers	-----	-----	-----	Balfour V.
Thomas Towers	-----	-----	-----	Little Sty
Henry Willetts	-----	-----	-----	Astley Cott.
Magnus Williamson	Shoreside	Balfour Village	Balfour Village	
Magnus Williamson	Quoybanks	-----	-----	-----
William Work	Lair	Little Feaston	Little Feaston	
William Work	Trattleton	-----	-----	-----
William Work	Waltness	-----	-----	-----
William Work	Rosecraigie	Stand Pretty	-----	-----
William Work	Newfield	Cowes	Helligo (son)	Helligo
James Work	Newbraes	Barebraes (widow)	Barebraes	
Magnus Work	Agricola	Agricola	Agricola	-----
William Work	Whistlebare	-----	-----	-----

James Work	Widewalls	Widewalls	Rosecraigie	
James Work	Veaquoy	-----	-----	-----
Thomas Work	Busgarth	Mount Pleasant	Grind	-----
John Work	Hannatoft (son to)	Hannatoft	Hannatoft	
John Work	Dogtow	Dogtow	Lochend	Lochend
James Work	Swartaquoy	Lairo	Cleat	Cleat
James Work	Brecks & Myers	Brecks & Myers	Brecks & Myres	
James Work	Diggings	Diggings	Diggings	
Magnus Work	Inquiver	Inganess (son to)	Whitecleat	
John Work	Hannatoft	Mossie	Canada	Babylon
John Work	-----	-----	Scarpigarth	
James Work	-----	Mossie	Mounthoolie	Sandston
William Work	-----	Dogtow	New Gorn	New Gorn
William Work	-----	Diggings	Diggings	Stenso
James Yorston	-----	-----	Quholm	Elwick



**APPENDIX J (a) The Movement within Shapinsay and Families 'lost' to the Island**

<u>Displaced but remaining</u>				<u>Immigrants</u>			<u>Emigrants or Deceased lines</u>		
Date	F	FS	A	F	FS	A	F	FS	A
1851	17	3	12	5	1	7	7	8	9
1861	23	3	6	14	1	23	16	6	17
1871	10	1	2	7	1	14	10	2	11
1881	17	2	1	4	---	8	12	2	9

Note: F= farming, FS= fishing and A= artisan.

The families recorded as 'Displaced' accepted leases elsewhere on Shapinsay.

'Immigrants' refers to tenants who migrated from other Orcadian islands or the British mainland. 'Emigrants or Deceased lines' refers to families who either emigrated to British Dependencies abroad or, more often, ceased to be tenants and moved to other areas of Orkney. It is not possible, from National Census or parochial records, to differentiate between true emigrants and former lease-holders whose death left their family without an heir or mature family head.

However, Appendix K (below) briefly summarises the increase or decrease of hitherto long-established Shapinsay families over a period of fifty years i.e.1830-1880.

## **APPENDIX K Principal Tenant Families of Shapinsay- Increase or Decrease**

Bews, increase from 5 to 7;

Craigie, increase from 2 to 5; Drever, no change.

Heddle, decrease from 10 to 5;

Hepburn, decrease from 8 to 6;

Hutchison, rise and fall from 3 to 6 to 2;

Irvine, decrease from 9 to 5;

Liddle, decrease from 5 to nil;

Laughton, rise and fall from 3 to 5 to 2;

Michael, increase from 4 to 8;

Nicolson, decrease from 7 to 5;

Reid, no change;

Russell, decrease from 6 to 4;

Scott, no change;

Shearer, no change;

Sinclair, no change;

Skea, no change;

Sketheway, no change;

Smith, decrease from 4 to 1;

Stevenson, decrease from 4 to 1;

Swanney, no change;

Work, decrease from 19 to 12.

APPENDIX L Balfour Estate Rental Book & Valuation Ledger for Shapinsay

<u>Building</u>	<u>Date of Lease</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Rent</u>	<u>Valuation</u>
Astley Cottage	1867-85	H.Willetts	£1/12/-	£110/17/3
Balaclava	1855-81	W.Russell	£11/-/-	£211/-/-
Barebrecks	1877-92	T.Russell	£3/-/-	
Braefoot	1859-83	T.Omand	£1/-/-	No Valuation
Braeholland	1855-80	W.Michael	£15/-/-	
Brecks	1848-56 1856-83	J.Smith T.Smith	£6/-/- £15/-/-	
Brecks & Myers	1848-56 1856-81	J.Work “	£8/-/- £22/10/-	£106/18/4
Broadgreen	1864-69 1869-78	W.Work P.Maxwell	£1/7/6 £3/-/-	Old Mossbank
Bu'house	1848-56 1856-75	P.Bews M.Heddle	£3/-/- £4/-/-	
Burnside	1848-61	D.Craigie	£4/-/-	
Busgarth	1848-56 1865-72 1873-88	W.Michael D.Scott A.Leask	£1/15/- £4/4/- £5/10/-	
Caskald	1848-74 1874-80	J.Heddle H.Willetts	£15/-/- £33/-/-	£126/12/-
Chapelbrae	1858-65 1866-69 1869-75	J.Rendall M.Nicolson R.Heddle	£-/16/- £2/8/- £2/8/-	
Comely Bank	Not assessed as no crop was raised in the 1860's or 1870's.			
Congregational Church & Manse	No rent & no assessment			

Cotbrae	1864-81	J.Shearer	£1/-/-	
Cot-on-the-Hill	1874-83	J.Scott	£1/10/-	
Courthall	1847-65	A.Russell	£-/10/-	
	1866-75	J.Drever	£3/-/-	£45/-/-
Crossgates	1855-66	J.Hutchison	£1/3/6	£126/-/-
Diggings	1848-91	J.Work	£2/10/-	to £3/10/-
Easthouse	1845-47	J.Heddle	£5/-/-	See Nisthouse
	1847-65	"	£8/-/-	
	1866-81	W.Irvine	£8/-/-	
From 1866 this farm was rented together with Midhouse & Nisthouse.				
East Laird	1856-59	J.Allan	£1/12/-	
	1859-64	"	£8/16/-	
	1865-72	J.Benslow	£6/-/-	Considerable
	1873-90	J.Drever		late repairs
Edmeston	1865-88	J.Nicolson	Self-built & no rent	
Elwick	1848-56	T.Hepburn	£50/-/-	Includes Mill
	1857-81	D.Laughton	£14/-/-	Farm only
Elwickbank	Estate factor's house paying no rent or repairs.			
Feaston	1846-48	M.Shearer	£4/-/-	
	1848-56	"	£10/-/-	
	1857-76	"	£7/-/-	
Flakimoss	1858-69	S.Dunnett	£1/6/-	
	1870-74	"	£7/16/-	£50/15/-
	1875-84	H.Nicolson	£9/-/-	
Frustigarth	1846	J.Meason	£4/-/-	
	1847	"	£8/-/-	
	1848-56	"	£12/-/-	
	1857-94	"	£15/10/-	
Fuag	1848-56	T.Shearer	£1/16/-	
	1857-83	"	£3/10/-	
Furrowend	1848-56	T.Laughton	£3/-/-	
	1857-76	"	£7/10/-	

Garth	1846-59	T.Nicolson	£3/10/-	
	1860-61	"	£12/10/-	
	1861-70	J.Harcus	£20/-/-	
	1871-86	W.Bews	£28/-/-	
Gebro	1846-47	J.Work	£8/-/-	
	1848-76	"	£5/-/-	Poor drainage
Girnigeo	1846-47	J.Drever	£6/-/-	
	1848-83	"	£6/10/-	
Geostane	1864-73	M.Nicolson	No rent- garden only	
	1874-77	W.Work	£8/-/-	
Greenwall	1848-56	T.Russell	£2/-/-	£33/-/-
	1857-76	"	£4/-/-	
Grassquoy	1848-53	W.Swanney	£6/-/-	
	1853-78	J.Sinclair	£5/6/-	
Greenataing	1848-53	A.Hepburn	£5/-/-	
	1854-65	J.Jones	£5/-/-	
	1866-85	R.Shearer	£1/-/-	Poor drainage
Ha'breck	1876-82	J.Hutchison	£2/-/-	
Hamar	1846-75	J.Gullion	£1/-/-	Cottage only
Hannatoft	1845-50	J. & M.Work	£27/6/-	
	1851-66	M.Work	£24/4/-	
	1867-88	C.Nicolson	£40/-/-	
Ha'quoy	1846-47	J.Heddle	£13/-/-	
	1848-67	"	£24/-/-	
	1868-91	"	£50/-/-	
Haroldsgarth	1839-47	J.Hepburn	£9/1/10	
	1848-68	" & M.Craigie	£12/10/-	
	1869-91	M.Craigie	£24/-/-	
Haughland (incl. Petra)	1860-65	J. & W.Sketheway	£-/10/-	
	1866-85	"	£3/-/-	
Headgeo	1846-47	W.Drever	£4/-/-	
	1848-81	"	£8/-/-	See Quoys
Hestivald	1858-62	J.Hourston	£1/-/-	
	1863-76	"	£6/-/-	



Hewan	1845-53	J.Russell	£7/8/5	Late Drainage
	1854-60	“	£15/-/-	
	1861-65	“	£25/-/-	
	1866-85	S.Russell	£28/-/-	
Helligeo	1848-59	D.Scott	£1/-/-	See Sandston & Scarpigarth
	1860-75	W.Work	£1/-/-	
	1875-	N.McKenzie	£3/-/-	
Hilton	1830-1868 Styel & Nether Styel farms plus the Church of Scotland Glebe were combined into Hilton farm which was feued to M.Calder at £80 per annum.			
Houseby	1848-50	W.Flett	£6/-/-	
	1851-77	“	£9/-/-	
Howe	1845-56	M.Craigie	£25/10/-	
	1857-74	“	£40/-/-	
	1875-87	“	£65/-/-	
Inkerman	1855-61	P.Maxwell	£10/-/-	Drained in 1861
	1862-86	J.Drever	£15/-/-	
Kirkton	1848-52	W.Hepburn	£20/-/-	No rent increase due to expensive re-drainage.
	1853-68	J.Kemp	£20/-/-	
	1869-87	“	£20/-/-	
Lingro	1846-47	J.Drever	£3/-/-	
	1848-56	“	£8/-/-	
	1857-86	“	£14/-/-	
Linton	1847	J.Hepburn	£8/-/-	£107/18/5
	1848-56	“	£14/1/-	
	1857-86	M.Hepburn	£17/10/-	
Little Feaston	1846-47	P.Shearer	£-/14/-	
	1848-56	W.Work	£4/10/-	
	1857-86	“	£5/10/-	
Little Sandsgarth	1848-56	J.Drummond	£5/-/-	£34/2/7
	1857-80	“	£7/-/-	
Lufaness	1845-50	P.Hepburn	£2/15/8	£200/-/-
Lufaness (cont.)	1858-96	J.Hepburn	£3/16/7	
Lochend	1857-74	J.Work	£-/10/-	
	1875-91	W.Harcus	£3/-/-	

Lucknow	1848-56 1857-85	M.Nicolson R.Sinclair	£7/10/- £17/-/-	
Luckston	1861-75	J.Michael	£1/-/-	
Midhouse	1846-50 1851-66	J.Bews “	£2/-/- £5/10/-	
Monquhanny	1845-47 1848-60 1861-81	J.Liddle J.Reid “	£28/7/- £50/-/- £70/-/-	Gorn
Mossbank	1859-73 1874-95	J.Irvine J.Nicolson	£3/-/- £3/-/-	
Mounthoolie	1845-56 1857-66 1867-81	D.Laughton J.Work E.Nicolson	£5/-/- £11/-/- £11/-/-	
Ness	1845-56 1857-64 1865-74 1875-86	J.Reid J.Dennison “ “	£28/8/6 £30/-/- £60/-/- £95/-/-	£200/-/- Inquiver added in 1853
Nether Bigging	1845-47 1848-60 1861-92	J.Michael “ M.Michael	£13/-/- £16/10/- £28/-/-	
Newfield	1857-61 1862-68 1869-73 1874-85	R.Ramshaw “ J.Bews “	£15/-/- £25/-/- £15/-/- £20/-/-	
Newlot	1850-51 1852-79	J.Irvine J.Hepburn	£1/5/- £1/-/-	Rented with Hacosness
Nisthouse	1845-54 1855-81	J.Shearer J.Inkster	£4/14/- £6/-/-	Combined with Midhouse and Easthouse.
North Hill	1854-77	W.Hepburn	£1/5/-	
Odin	1861-75	J.Mouat	£2/-/-	
Odinstone	1845-46	W.Russell	£2/-/-	Lairosdale

	1847-56	J.Drever	£2/-/-	
	1857-61	"	£6/-/-	
	1862-79	J.Scott	£50/-/-	
Old School	1872-84	D.Laughton	£10/-/-	
Onzetauh (Bonnyhill)	1865-90	W.Hedde	No Rent	
Ostoft	1845-66	J.Skea	£4/10/-	
	1867-78	"	£7/-/-	
Parkhall	1852-55	M.Swanney	£1/5/-	
	1856-69	W.Bews	£5/18/-	Drained 1868
	1870-97	"	£14/-/-	
Pekin	1850-99	T.Shearer	£1/-/-	
Petra	1850-99	W.Skethaway	£-/10/-	with Haughland
Pictou	1851-63	P.Shearer	£1/-/-	
	1864-92	J.Allan	£4/4/-	
Purtaquoy	1848-57	M.Michael	£3/-/-	
	1858-90	"	£5/-/-	
Quholm	1846-47	M.Irvine	£5/-/-	
	1848-76	"	£7/-/-	
Quoybanks	1846-47	M.Williamson	£3/10/-	
	1848-49	"	£5/-/-	
	1850-64	M.Shearer	£4/-/-	
	1865-75	J.Allan	£8/-/-	
Quoymoorhouse	1846-47	J.Scott & W.Michael	£18/-/-	
	1848-61	" "	£40/-/-	
	1862-67	J.Scott	£45/-/-	
	1868-80	"	£50/-/-	
Quoys	1848-56	R.Reid	£10/-/-	
	1857-61	"	£13/-/-	
	1862-80	J.Hay	£20/-/-	with Headgeo
Redbanks	1874-	W.Harcus	No rent	

Roadside	1856-60	W.Harcus	£-/16/9	Drained 1861
	1861-65	"	£2/10/-	
	1866-77	"	£1/-/-	
Rose Cottage	1865	H.Jeffrey	No rent	
Rosecraigie	1845-51	W.Craigie	£3/6/10	
	1852-56	J.Work	£7/-/-	
	1857-77	"	£11/-/-	
Sandsend	1848-80	R. & W.Sinclair	£1/-/-	Late drainage
Sandsgarth	1846-47	J.Irvine	£3/5/-	
	1848-68	"	£10/-/-	
	1869-78	"	£14/-/-	Drained 1870
Sandston	1848-57	J.Drummond	£1/-/-	Rented with
	1857-75	" & J.Guthrie	£2/10/-	Helligeo & Scarpigarth
Scarpigarth	1848	J.Guthrie	£1/-/-	See above
Sholtoquoy	1845-47	W.Swanney	£9/-/-	
	1848-53	J.Swanney	£11/-/-	£67/-/-
	1854-82	"	£24/-/-	
Skoenstoft	1845-47	T.Mouat	£10/10/-	Poor drainage
	1848-85	"	£11/-/-	amelior. £45
Smithstown	1847-	No tenant	rented as smithy with New Gorn at 5/-.	
Society Schoolhouse	1861-75	D.Hepburn	No rent	
Stand Pretty	1847-87	J.Reid	5/- rent to Mrs Balfour	

Steaquoy	1845-47	M.Irvine	£4/4/-	Drained 1877
	1848-61	"	£4/4/-	
	1862-65	J.Reid	£13/-/-	
	1866-91	"	£17/-/-	
Stenso	1865-73	W.Work	No rent	
	1874-86	J.Kemp	£2/-/-	
Strathore	1847	J.Dennison	£30/-/-	Weiland Farm
	1848-56	J.Fullerton	£75/1/3	
	1857-67	"	£84/1/2	
	1868-78	J.Robertson	£100/-/-	
Swartaquoy	1846-47	J.Work	£13/-/-	Incl. Loch
	1848-56	W.Groat	£7/-/-	
	1857-75	"	£9/-/-	
Troynhead	1872-75	J.Swanney	£3/-/-	£110/13/-
United Presbyterian Church & Manse	1830-75	Annual feu of 5/- and	No rent	
Veantro	1848-56	J.Irvine	£-/14/-	
	1857-63	"	£2/10/-	
	1864-75	T.Irvine	£2/10/-	
Vedesquoy	1848-73	W.Nicolson	£5/-/-	Drained 1862
	1874-81	"	£8/-/-	
Waltness	1846-50	J.Work	£7/-/-	
	1851-73	G.Frisken	£30/-/-	
	1874-81	A.Marshall	£100/-/-	
Wardhill	1859-64	T.Thomson	£1/10/-	Drained 1871
	1865-75	"	£4/10/-	
Waterhouse	1847-49	E.Stevenson	£-/15/-	
	1850-94	W.Liddle	£2/-/-	
Westhill	1846-50	M.Bews	No rent as administered	by Estate grieve
	1851-75	A.McKenzie		
West Laird	1850-60	T.Swanney	£1/-/-	



	1861-63	“	£3/10/-	
	1864-75	“	£5/10/-	Drained 1865
Whitecleat	1848-52	J.Shearer	£7/10/-	Drained 1851
	1853-54	M.Work	£7/10/-	
	1855-80	“	£12/10/-	

Note: Under the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886, James Work, son of the above Magnus Work of Whitecleat, had all arrears of rent cancelled (£92/18/1) and a new dwelling house erected in 1890.

**APPENDIX M   Abridged Inventory of 19<sup>th</sup> Century books of William & David Balfour  
located at Balfour Castle Library, Shapinsay.**

*Allison's Europe* (London 1815).

Agricultural Society of Scotland, Transactions of the (eds. 1839-1887)

L'annee Scientifique et Industrielle (1848-1887)

Barry G. *History of the Orkney Isles* (1805).

*Bell's Commentaries.*

Bentham J. *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789).

Blackwood's Magazine, (complete from 1845-1887).

*British Acts of Parliament.*

*Brown's Synopsis*

*Burke's Peerage.*

*Campbell's Lectures*

Chambers R., *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, (Edinburgh, 1832-4).

*Domestic Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1859-61).

*Information for the People* (Edinburgh, 1848).

Cottam R.     *Architectural Antiquities of Europe.*

*Edinburgh Review, The* (Edinburgh, 1802-1887).

*Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1781).

*Goldsmith's Animated Nature.*

*History of the Highland Agricultural Society of Scotland.*

Illustrated London News (complete series until 1887).

Johnston A.K., *Lectures in Agriculture, Chemistry & Geology* (Edinburgh, 1864).

Kelly W., *Handbook of the Landed Gentry.*

Liebeg W., *Letters on Chemistry* (Leipzig, 1839)

Loudon R., *Encyclopaedia of Agriculture* (Edinburgh, 1852).

Low G. *Fauna Orcadensis* (Edinburgh, 1813).

*A Tour thro' Orkney and Shetland 1774* (Edinburgh, 1879).

Low W. *Elements of Practical Agriculture.*

*On Landed Gentry.*

Mackenzie G., *Essays on Court Cases, Historical Precedent & Reason.*

*Primary Cycle of the Winds* (Edinburgh, 1819).

*Monumenta Historica Britannica*

Paxton R. *Botanical Dictionary*

Society of Antiquities of Scotland, *Journal of*, volumes I-IV.

Stephens H. *Books of the Farm* (5 vols. 1853-64).

*Systematic Arrangement of British Plants* (anonymous, undated).

Thornton R.J., *Elements of Botany*

*The British Flora*

*Willich's Domestic Encyclopaedia.*

Unnamed above is a comprehensive collection of first editions of mid-nineteenth century English romantic fiction, together with collections of biography, Roman and British military history, legal precedent and encyclopaedias in Italian, French and German on manufactures, agriculture and industry.

# APPENDIX N Straw-plaiting Records for Shapinsay, 1833-38 (Annual incomes)

Plaiter & Residence	1833	1835	1838
Margaret Bain- Myres	£-/3/2	£-/1/1 ½	£-/1/3
Margaret Bews- Westhill	£-/1/3	£-/2/3	£-/2/3
Margaret Bews- Sholtoquoy	£-/1/9 ½	£-/1/9 ½	£ nil
Catherine Bews- Snesquoy	£-/4/8	£ nil	£-/9/8
Mary Bews- Midhouse	£-/19/4	£ nil	£1/18/1
Mary Breck- Gorn	£-/13/4	£-/10/11 ½	£ nil
Isabella Brodie- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£-/9/11 ½	£-/6/9 ½
Isabella Chalmers- Shoreside Village	£-/4/9 ½	£-/4/9 ½	£-/4/9 ½
Margaret Craigie- Weiland	£ nil	£ nil	£-/11/9
Isabella Dennison- Hewan	£-/2/2	£-/2/2 ½	£-/2/3 ½
Barbara Drever- Shoreside Village	£3/14/1	£3/17/9 ½	£3/7/11
Mary Drever- Burnside	£-/5/-	£-/11/4	£ nil
Christian Drever- Burnside	£-/8/6	£-/2/10 ½	£ nil
Christian Drever- Lingro	£-/8/8	£-/18/2	£2/1/- ½
Mary Drever- Lingro	£ nil	£ nil	£-/4/1
William Drever- Headgeo	£-/1/5	£ nil	£-/2/3 ½
Margaret Drever- Headgeo	£ nil	£-/3/8 ½	£-/1/8 ½
Jean Drever- Hillhead	£ nil	£ nil	£-/12/11 ½
Mary Drever-Girnigeo	£-/2/6/ ½	£ nil	£ nil
Sybilla Drever-Kirk Manse	£-/13/5	£-/10/5 ½	£-/10/5 ½
Mary Drever- Kirk Manse	£-/16/- ½	£-/14/6 ½	£-/14/- ½
Janet Drummond- Sandgarth	£-/1/6	£ nil	£ nil
Marion Drummond- Shoreside Village	£-/1/3	£-/2/3	£-/2/3
Helen Flett- Houseby	£-/10/6	£-/10/6	£-/10/4 ½
Betty Fotheringham- Gateside	£-/1/1	£-/3/4	£-/7/3
William Gullion- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£ nil	£-/1/4 ½
Margaret Gunn- Shoreside Village	£-/1/4 ½	£-/1/4 ½	£-/1/4 ½
Francis Harcus- Ha'quoy	£-/1/7	£ nil	£ nil
Janet Heddle- Hacosness	£1/7/1	£1/11/5	£1/8/6

Janet Heddle- Hillhead	£ nil	£1/5/-	£ nil
Ann Heddle- Dogtew	£-/3/-	£ nil	£-/5/9
Jean Heddle- Furrowend	£-/6/-	£-/9/9	£ nil
Catherine Heddle- Ha'quoy	£-/7/8 ½	£ nil	£-/2/11
Christian Heddle- Mounthoolie	£-/2/8	£-/-/2 ½	£1/3/1 ½
Catherine Heddle- Niers	£-/1/11	£-/-/5	£-/1/-
Marion Heddle- Niers	£-/1/6 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Marion Heddle- Niers	£-/2/8	£ nil	£ nil
Marion Heddle- Headgeo	£ nil	£-/3/4	£-/3/4
Margaret Heddle- Furrowend	£-/1/6	£ nil	£ nil
Marion Heddle- Furrowend	£-/2/6	£ nil	£ nil
Marion Heddle- Caskald	£-/1/4	£ nil	£ nil
Barbara Heddle- Shoreside Village	£-/3/11	£ nil	£ nil
Margaret Heddle- Newfield	£ nil	£ nil	£-/7/1
Barbara Hepburn- Waltness	£-/2/2	£-/1/3	£-/16/5
Mary Hepburn- Waltness	£-/1/3	£ nil	£ nil
Janet Hepburn- Linton	£1/13/1	£1/9/3	£1/2/1
Margaret Hepburn- Linton	£-/3/5 ½	£3/13/10	£3/17/9
Mary Hepburn- Linton	£-/18/9 ½	£1/-/-	£1/1/-
Esther Hepburn- Linton	£-/2/8 ½	£-/2/8 ½	£-/3/8
Catherine Hepburn- Linton	£-/5/2	£-/2/-	£-/3/8
Ann Hepburn- Feaston	£-/7/2 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Margaret Hepburn- Feaston	£-/-/10	£ nil	£ nil
Betty Hepburn- Howe	£-/7/-	£-/7/6	£-/7/6
John Hepburn- Mosside	£-/1/-	£ nil	£ nil
Janet Hepburn- Swartaquoy	£-/6/1	£-/6/1	£-/6/1
Margaret Hepburn- Lairo	£-/14/10	£-/5/10	£ nil
Mary Hepburn- Lufaness	£-/8/1	£ nil	£-/6/6
Mary Hepburn- Shoreside Village	£-/1/8 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Jean Hepburn- Kirkton	£ nil	£-/2/1 ½	£-/2/9 ½
Martha Hepburn- Ganderbreck	£ nil	£ nil	£-/11/10 ½
Jean Hepburn- Sandston	£ nil	£ nil	£-/-/4 ½



Marion Hutchison- Gebro	£ nil	£ nil	£-/17/1 ½
Marion Irvine- Nether Bigging	£-/1/1	£-/2/-	£ nil
Janet Irvine- Little Sandsgarth	£-/5/3	£-/1/7	£-/1/1 ½
Mary Irvine- Styel	£ nil	£ nil	£ nil
Margaret Irvine- Bught	£-/7/7	£-/7/7	£-/7/7
Margaret Irvine- Howe	£-/1/2	£-/1/4 ½	£-/1/11 ½
James Irvine- Howe	£ nil	£-/-/7	£-/-/7
Margaret Irvine- Sandsgarth	£-/6/9 ½	£-/4/10/ ½	£-/1/4
Barbara Irvine- Upper Bigging	£ nil	£ nil	£-/6/6
Margaret Irvine- Quholm	£-/5/6 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Coventrie Irvine- Gebro	£ nil	£ nil	£ nil
Mary Laughton- Ousequoy	£-/3/2	£-/-/9	£-/-/9
Janet Laughton- Mosside	£-/6/5	£-/6/-	£-/8/11 ½
Betty Laughton- Snesquoy	£-/3/4	£-/-/7	£ nil
Mary Leask- Mounthoolie	£-/10/7	£-/10/7	£-/10/7
Ann Lennie- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£ nil	£-/2/2
Barbara Leslie- Wieland	£ nil	£-/2/7	£ nil
Jean Liddle- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£ nil	£-/-/8
Catherine Liddle- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£1/2/4 ½	£ nil
Thomas Liddle- Shoreside Village	£-/-/5	£ nil	£ nil
Christian Liddle- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£ nil	£-/1/3
Barbara Liddle- Mosside	£-/2/6	£ nil	£ nil
Mary Liddle- Gateside	£-/5/6	£-/5/6	£-/5/6
Esther Liddle- Linton	£-/2/9	£-/4/9	£-/4/9
Catherine Liddle- Linton	£-/15/4 ½	£ nil	£-/1/6
Mary Liddle- Linton	£ nil	£-/-/10	£ nil
Betty Liddle- Hillhead	£2/5/11	£2/3/1	£2/3/1
Betty Liddle- Hannatof	£1/2/1 ½	£1/-/-	£ nil
Christian Liddle- New Lights	£ nil	£ nil	£-/2/2
Margaret Liddle- Niers	£ nil	£ nil	£-/-/4
Janet Liddle- Ness	£-/4/1 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Marion Liddle- Brecks	£-/2/11 ½	£ nil	£ nil

Janet Liddle- Ness	£-/16 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Elizabeth Liddle- Hamar	£-/3/-	£ nil	£ nil
Mary Liddle- Hamar	£1/5/8	£ nil	£ nil
Isabella Liddle- Hamar	£-/14/9	£ nil	£ nil
Francis Liddle- Gorn	£-/1/8	£ nil	£ nil
Janet Liddle- Haroldsgarth	£-/14/5	£-/1/5 ½	£-/1/6
Betty McKay- Shoreside Village	£ nil	£-/2/7	£-/3/5 ½
Celie Michael- Dogtau	£-/2/11 ½	£-/7/10 ½	£-/7/7 ½
Mary Michael- Cott-on-the-Hill	£-/14/5	£ nil	£ nil
William Michael- Swartaquoy	£-/1/9	£-/1/9	£-/1/9
Betsy Michael- Swartaquoy	£-/2/2	£-/1/7	£-/5/9 ½
Mary Michael- Purtaquoy	£-/1/5	£ nil	£ nil
Janet Michael- Nether Bigging	£-/3/6	£ nil	£-/2/2 ½
Margaret Michael- Nether Bigging	£ nil	£-/4/-	£ nil
Janet Michael- Nether Bigging	£ nil	£-/4/8	£ nil
Barbara Michael- Shoreside Village	£-/1/10 ½	£ nil	£ nil
Margaret Nicolson- Tew	£-/4/2	£-/1/7	£-/1/8
Helen Nicolson- Tew	£-/5/9	£ nil	£ nil
Betty Nicolson- Tew	£-/1/8	£-/1/10 ½	£ nil
Esther Nicolson- Shoreside Village	£-/5/10	£-/1/7 ½	£-/3/7
Margaret Nicolson- Shoreside Village	£-/17/8	£-/16/10	£-/17/2
Esther Nicolson- Poolend	£-/1/9	£-/1/9	£-/1/9
Janet Nicolson- Sethaquoy	£-/1/7 ½	£-/2/-	£-/1/6
Mary Nicolson- Dogtau	£ nil	£ nil	£ nil
Mary Peace- Agricola	£-/11/7	£-/7/8	£-/4/2
Margaret Peace- Agricola	£-/7/6	£ nil	£-/12/7
Helen Rendall- Dogtau	£-/5/3	£-/4/4	£1/1/10 ½
Margaret Rendall- Brecks	£1/4/10	£-/14/10	£-/14/10
Betty Russell- Shoreside Village	£-/9/3	£-/3/9 ½	£-/3/9 ½
Betty Russell- Shoreside Village	£-/1/4 ½	£-/1/4 ½	£-/1/4 ½
Margaret Russell- Lairosdale	£-/6/7	£-/6/7	£ nil
Margaret Russell- Hewan	£-/2/9 ½	£-/7/9	£-/1/7 ½

Betty Russell- Agricola	£ nil	£-/2/7 ½	£ nil
Isabella Sclater- Poolend	£ nil	£ nil	£-/1/5
Margaret Scott- Sholtoquoy	£-/2/2	£-/2/2	£-/3/3
Sybella Scott- Quoymoorhouse	£ nil	£ nil	£-/1/9
Margaret Shearer- Brecks	£ nil	£ nil	£-/1/11 ½
Janet Shearer- Fuag/Whitecleat	£-/2/4 ½	£ nil	£-/9/10 ½
Margaret Shearer- Fuag	£ nil	£-/2/-	£-/1/4 ½
Christian Shearer- Sandsgarth	£-/4/7 ½	£-/4/6	£-/7/5 ½
Isabella Shearer- Gebro	£1/10/2 ½	£1/7/1 ½	£1/7/1 ½
Catherine Shearer- Feaston	£-/1/11 ½	£-/1/11 ½	£-/1/11 ½
Isabella Shearer- Nether Bigging	£ nil	£ nil	£-/1/4 ½
Jean Shearer- Shoreside Village	£-/2/4 ½	£-/1/4 ½	£ nil
Jean Sinclair- Burnside	£-/1/2	£-/1/2	£-/1/2
Margaret Skea- Purtaquoy	£-/4/-	£-/4/-	£-/4/-
Cecilia Skea- Ostoft	£ nil	£ nil	£-/3/6
Margaret Sketheway- Gorn	£ nil	£ nil	£-/2/4
Isabella Smith- Brecks	£ nil	£ nil	£1/12/9 ½
Margaret Smith- Brecks	£ nil	£ nil	£1/6/8
Barbara Stevenson- Waterhouse	£-/17/6	£-/10/11	£-/7/-
Janet Stevenson- Cowes	£-/11/-	£-/17/-	£ nil
Christian Swanney- Sholtoquoy	£-/2/8	£ nil	£ nil
Margaret Taylor- Scarpigarth	£-/16/5 ½	£-/10/7	£-/6/4
Ann Tulloch- Sound	£ nil	£ nil	£-/3/10
Betty Williamson- Kirkton/Dogtau	£-/10/7	£-/9/3 ½	£-/1/10 ½
Jean Williamson- Kirkton/Dogtau	£-/9/-	£-/7/6	£-/1/8
Magnus Work- Stand Pretty	£-/4/9 ½	£-/6/1	£-/5/5 ½
Marianne Work- Sandsgarth	£-/1/5 ½	£-/2/6	£-/1/5 ½
Mary Work- Newfield	£-/19/10 ½	£-/11/6 ½	£-/10/11
Mary Work- Newfield	£-/1/5	£ nil	£-/1/8 ½
Robina Work- Barebraes	£-/1/6	£-/2/4	£ nil
Margaret Work- Barebraes	£-/1/9	£ nil	£ nil
Elizabeth Work- Newbraes	£-/1/5	£ nil	£-/2/4

Margaret Work- Grind	£-/2/8 ½	£ nil	£-/-/8
Mary Work- Rosecraigie	£ nil	£-/9/7	£-/5/2
Margaret Work- Gateside	£ nil	£-/1/6	£ nil
Janet Work- Trattleton	£-/11/3	£ nil	£-/1/6
Mary Work- Trattleton	£-/3/3	£ nil	£-/3/7
Marion Work- Trattleton	£-/12/1 ½	£-/13/8 ½	£-/15/1 ½
Betty Work- Trattleton	£-/5/9	£-/7/5	£ nil

---

Total Sums & Number of Plaiters	£44/17/4 ½ (121)	£45/10/3 ½ (91)	£47/1/5 ½ (104)
---------------------------------	------------------	-----------------	-----------------

---

Note: The average annual wage for a straw-plaiter can be calculated at 7/5; 10/- and 9/- for the three periods tabled above. Over a period of six years, 1833-1838, the mean wage, per plaiter, was therefore 8/9 ¾.

**APPENDIX O Specimen of a long (performance) lease for a Shapinsay farm.**



It is Contracted, Agreed, and Ended between the parties following vizt. David Balfour Esquire of Balfour and Glenabie, heritable proprietor of the lands and others after mentioned on the one part and William McKay, Farmer residing at Blestrain in the parish of Ophir on the other part, in manner following:— That is to say, the said David Balfour has set, and in consideration of the rent and other prestations after mentioned hereby sets, and in tack and assedation Lets to the said William McKay, and his heirs, but expressly excluding all assignees and subtenants, both legal and conventional, and heirs portioners the eldest female succeeding always without division, all and whole the farm and lands of the Hall of Blestrain, bounded and having the road dividing the same from the lands and farms of South Blestrain on the South; the sea shore on the West; a turf fence, and the lands of Button up to the district road on the North; and the said road on the East, all as at present possessed by the said William McKay lying in the parish of Ophir, Mainland and Sheriffdom of Orkney; together with the right of taking sea ware from the shores of the said lands for manure for the same, and of cutting, winning and carrying away peats from the moss ground attached thereto for the use of the said subjects alienably, but not for sale, the said peats being always cut regularly and subject to such rules and regulations thereanent, as the proprietor may prescribe from time to time for the guidance of his tenantry; And that for the space of nineteen years, from and after the said tenants entry thereto, which notwithstanding the date hereof, is hereby declared to have been at the term of Martinmas Eighteen hundred and fifty six and from thenceforth to be peaceably occupied, possessed, and enjoyed by the said William McKay and his foresaids during the whole foresaid space; Declaring that the lands situated in South Blestrain also at present possessed by the said William McKay from year to year are no ways comprehended in the Lease; and further declaring that the tenant is to have no right of pasturage on any hill or waste, or common ground beyond the bounds of the lands hereby let as above specified: And reserving always to the said David Balfour, and his heirs and successors the whole metals, mines, and minerals within the said lands, with full power to work the same and to do every thing necessary for that purpose, on payment of what surface damage may be thereby occasioned, as the same shall be ascertained by two neutral persons of skill to be mutually chosen; also the right without any compensation to the tenant, of collecting, drying, burning, and manufacturing into kelp the sea weed growing, or that may be driven on the shores of the said lands, together with jet ice and entry to the said shores, and the usual and necessary accommodation of ground along the banks thereof for drying and burning the said sea weed or otherwise, for the purpose of the said manufacture; and also the whole game and exclusive privilege of fowling, hunting and sporting on the lands hereby let by himself or others having authority in writing from him, or his foresaids, the tenant being bound to preserve the said game to this extent that he shall not himself disturb

disturb or destroy, or allow his servants or others to disturb or destroy the same, but shall warn off and inform the proprietor of all persons who shall foul hunt or sport on the said lands without liberty, so that such persons may be prosecuted according to law. Which Tack under the declarations, reservations, and others before and after mentioned, the said David Balfour binds and obliges himself and his foresaids to warrant to the said William McKay and his foresaids at all hands and against all mortals: For which causes, and on the other part, the said William McKay binds and obliges himself and his heirs, executors, and successors whomsoever to content and pay to the said David Balfour, and his foresaids for the first seven years — years and crops of the lease the sum of One hundred pounds Sterling yearly, and for the remaining twelve years and crops thereof the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds Sterling yearly in name of rent or tack duty payable the said rent at two terms in the year Martinmas and Whitsunday by equal portions beginning the first terms payment thereof as at the term of Martinmas eighteen hundred and fifty seven, and the next terms payment at Whitsunday thereafter; for crop and year eighteen hundred and fifty seven, and so forth yearly and terms thereafter, until the term of Martinmas eighteen hundred and seventy five, being the term at which this Lease expires, when the said William McKay, or his foresaids shall make payment of a full year's rent, with a fifth part more of each term's payment of liquidate penalty, in case of failure and the due and legal interest of the said termly payments from the time at which the same shall respectively become due during the non-payment thereof. And it is further hereby stipulated and agreed between the said parties as follows, (that is to say) (Primo) In regard the Steading, dwelling house, and offices of the farm are in good repair, the said William McKay has accepted, and hereby accepts of the same as in good habitable and tenantable condition, and hereby binds and obliges himself, and his foresaids to keep them up during the currency of this lease, and to leave them in good and sufficient repair and condition at the issue thereof, and in case it shall be judged necessary by the said tenant to erect any additional farm buildings on the said lands, such additional buildings shall be so erected and executed wholly at the tenant's own proper charges and expenses, and conform to a plan to be approved of in writing by the proprietor or his factor; and in respect the tenant has already, lately erected, at his own expense a new Thrashing Barn and Mill on the said lands, therefore it is hereby agreed that at the termination of this lease he shall be entitled to receive from the said David Balfour, or his foresaids or to retain from the rent then due the value at that period of the said Thrashing Barn and Mill and of such additional buildings as may have been erected by him and approved of in writing in manner foresaid, as the said value shall then be ascertained by the report of two persons of skill to be mutually chosen by the parties: (Secundo) With respect to the management and cultivation of the said lands, the tenant



tenant hereby binds and obliges himself and his foresaids to consume on the lands by his cattle and bestial the whole straw, chaff and other produce (except grain, hay, and potatoes,) grown thereon, and to apply the whole manure to the lands, as also to reclaim, and bring into cultivation at his own expense the whole of the lands now waste, comprehended in the Lease; and the lands in so far as arable or brought into cultivation as aforesaid shall be managed, cropped, and cultivated during the currency of the Lease, according to the rules of modern good husbandry, and in particular, either conform to a five or six shift rotation of cropping, in the option of the tenant; and the whole farm shall be left by him improved, and strictly under one or other of the said rotations at the expiry of the Lease; (Tertio.) In the last year of the Lease the Landlord, or incoming tenant shall have liberty to sow grass seeds at the proper season with the away going crop in such parts of the arable lands as had been summer fallow, turnip, or green crop in the preceding year, the said William McKay, or his, foresaids harrowing or rolling in the same in a proper manner, and preserving the young grass from the pasturage of his cattle, after the last crop has been removed, without making any charge therefor: And it is further hereby provided that the turnips grown on the lands the last year of the Lease, together with the straw of the away going corn crop, and Hay grown on the lands that year shall be left to the Landlord, or incoming tenant, who shall be bound to pay for the same such price or prices as may be put thereon by two neutral persons of skill to be mutually named by the parties and failing such appointment by the Judge Ordinary on the application of either party; and for whatever dung may have been made on the farm after the sowing or planting of the last year's crop, the tenant is to be paid by the landlord or incoming tenant according to the valuation of two neutral persons of skill to be named as aforesaid, but the dung which may have been made on the farm prior to the sowing or planting of the last crop, and not used by the tenant for the benefit of the farm, shall become the property of the incoming tenant without payment: And the said William McKay binds and obliges himself, and his foresaids to remove at the end of the Lease without any warning or process of removing to that effect. And lastly, both parties bind and oblige themselves to implement and perform their respective parts of the premises to each other under the penalty of One hundred pounds, to be paid by the party failing, to the party performing or willing to perform over and above performance; and they consent to the Registration hereof for preservation and execution. In witness whereof these presents written upon this and the two preceding pages of stamped paper by John Laughton, clerk to Alexander Bain, Writer in Kirkwall are subscribed by the parties as follows VIZ By the said William Mackay at Kirkwall the twenty seventh day of January one thousand, eight hundred, and sixty two years, before those witnesses the said Alexander Bain and John Laughton writers hereof; and by the said David Balfour also at Kirkwall the fifth day of February and year fore- said before those witnesses the said Alexander Bain and John Laughton.

(Signed) D. Balfour of Balfour & Trenchard. Wm Mackay, Alex Bain witnesses. John Laughton witness. Alex Bain witness, John Laughton witness.

## **APPENDIX P      Glossary of Weights, Measures & Terminology**

Accelerated Change: the term used to define the structure and hierarchy of agricultural management at the advent of improved farming, as follows,

Proprietor

Factor

Baillie

Chamberlain

Barony Court

Clerk

Dempster

Forrester

Officer

Grieve

Lawrechtman (Birleyman)

Althing (Birley Court)

Tenant

Sub-Tenant

Bailie Court: a land court with delegated powers from a local Sheriff, dealing with petty crime, weights & measures and agricultural issues.

Bere: (bigg, ramble or rammel) a variation of barley suited to bad weather Locations which matures early. A 'non-shaking crop, it was widely cultivated in Orkney and Shetland prior to the advances of new improved farming techniques.

Bismar: a weighing beam for amounts up to one lispund (see Weights & Measures).

Boll: originally the thickness of a mature tree. Either twelve gallons or six bushels of cereal (approx. 160lbs.).

Bordland: land free of skat payments and literally the main farm of an Earl for the production of produce for his own table.

Bu: a large farm in single occupancy.

Bu'man: a landless ploughman in full-time employment at one large farm.

Burdens: (of Teind)- see Teinds.

Casualty: exaction of fee or stock at the death of a tenant (or sometimes at his marriage). Typical exactions were one horse or an ox. Land under 52 acres (Scots) were exempted.

Cess: tax levied on land.

Common Grazing: land used in common by small tenants but not owned in common.

Commonly: uncultivated land (usually moor) adjudged as the common ownership of proprietors of the adjacent land.

Cottar: a sub-tenant dependent on a tenant for house and minimal land in lieu of services (see 'onca' and Scott).

Davoch: a unit of land in Northern Scotland (not in Orkney) similar in area to a urisland and measuring 416 acres (Scots).

Earldom Estate: land formerly held by the Earls of Orkney from the King of Norway. Since the impignoration of Orkney to the Scottish Crown in 1468, farmed in tack.

Feu: an agreement that entitles the occupant of land (the feuar) to perpetuity in return for an annual fee (feu duty).

Fla: (or flaws) strips of meadowland.

Flett: strip of arable land.



Forcop: skat paid for 'pennyworths' of land in skat 'pennies'.

Grassum: renewal or entry fee to a farm.

Gyr: a green area or clearing in the heather.

Hill-dyke: a wall, usually constructed from turf, which separated the common grazing from the in-bye land of a tunmal.

Hind: a ploughman hired annually by a large farm and whose responsibilities are solely involved with ploughing and the upkeep of horses and their equipment. Family accommodation provided by the hirer.

Head-dyke: a turf wall surrounding the arable land of a tunmal.

Inbreak: pasture land newly converted into arable.

Impignoration: a form of pledging or mortgage. In Orkney the pledging of the islands by Christian I of Denmark as part of his daughter Margaret's dowry to James III of Scotland.

Kelp: the generic term for the ash of burned seaweed.

Laird: landowner or owner-occupier of a small estate (see 'peedie' laird).

Lawrechtman: member of the parish or island Bailie Court mainly responsible for the perambulation of farming land in runrig cultivation.

Ley: fallow land left uncultivated in a rotation system.

Mark: (1) smallest weight used in Orkney (see Weights & Measures); (2) £2/3 Scots; (3) a unit of land.

Meadowskift: the annual re-allocation of meadow land.

Meason: able or fitting.

Merkister: unfenced grassland for tethered animals.

Odal: see Udal

Onca: (on ca') labour provided by cottars to their main tenant, rarely specific in its nature or duration.

Outbreak: a strip of land taken into a tunmal.

Peace: Easter's child.

'Peedie Laird': Orcadian term for a 'bonnet laird' or small landowner who farms his own land.

Pennyworths: payments expressed in money but made in kind.

Perambulation: the re-allocation of runrig land by inspection & measurement, literally by walking or perambulating the area (see lawrechtmen).

Planking: patches of grazing within the head-dyke of a tunmal which were formerly organised for interchange among the rig holders.

Ploughgate: a term of valuation for an area which can be ploughed by eight oxen or four horses. Probably 104 acres i.e. eight oxgates of thirteen acres.

Pundlar: weighing beam for measures of twenty-eight pounds (see Weights & Measures).

Quoy: small enclosure or sometimes a field.

Quoyland: land recently reclaimed from outwith the hill-dyke and not liable to skat.

Rundale or Rendal: broader strips of land in the runrig system.

Runrig: system of cultivation in scattered and intermingled 'rigs', varying from 1/4 to 1/2 acre each strip and divided by uncultivated 'balks'. The 'rigs' were redistributed at regular intervals (see perambulation).

Scott: (skutt) originally a surname for a squatter or landless person, sometimes a cottar.

Shead: a large field containing a number of 'rigs' divided by 'balks'.

Sinclair: although derived from St.Clair, it was often the adopted name of landless migrants.

Skat: a tax paid by owners, and tenants, of both Earldom and Bishopric Estates, either in kind or money. Each urisland originally paid one ounce of silver to the Norwegian Crown or eighteen 'skat pennies'.

Skatland: (1) land liable to pay skat or (2) 1/4 of a urisland or ounceland.

Skattald: a fixed or complete unit of settlement from the ninth century, given over to arable farming as a multiple farm unit.

Sma' Oats: (grey oats) poor yield crop usually found on exposed ground or alkaline soils.

**Solskift:** the infield area allocated to an heir on an udal holding. The eastern portion (the sols or sun portion) going first to the eldest son of the deceased.

**Steelbow:** (metayer) the stocking of a farm by a landlord in return for a large share of the annual produce (often 1/3) and the return of his investment at the end of the lease or agreement.

**Stent:** a form of butter skat paid in the produce.

**Tack:** a lease granted through the 'tacksman' or direct tenant from a Superior (often the Crown) to a Vassal, giving the holder the right to collect rent and revenues formerly due to the Earl or Bishop of Orkney.

**Teind:** (tithe) a tax payable to the Church, originally 1/10 of arable produce or 1/10 new born stock (commuted to money payment if less than ten animals are reared).

The Burdens of Teinds:

- (1) Provision of Stipend for Church of Scotland minister.
- (2) Construction and maintenance of ecclesiastic buildings & churchyard.
- (3) Maintenance of the Poor.
- (4) Communion elements.

These provisions meant that when land was feued for house building the feuar became liable for assessment upon his real rental (see Valued Rent) for the construction and upkeep of ecclesiastic buildings and churchyards of the established Kirk and no other church. A Heritor was able to transfer certain duties of teind-holding to his tenant such as (a) a schoolmaster's pay and (b) services to Church, Manse and school. A loophole existed, however, if the feuar could prove that he had drained his land (either as the originator or successor) as an 'extraordinary improvement'.

**Toft:** house and its immediate surrounds.

**Tunmal** (tounmal) land adjacent to a toft which is not held in runrig.

**Udal** (odal) land held in absolute ownership without service to, or acknowledgement, of a Superior. A form of freehold tenure derived from Norwegian usage.

**Valued Rent:** the real rent of 1656 frozen to give a nominal value for various units of agrarian income.

**Wattle:** payment of a penny per pennyland for the provision of food and accommodation to an Earl and his retinue.

malt, meal, bere, oats, and other large volume items. The beam was set at 17  $\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. for bere. A unique set of weights were used as follows;

	Stones – Lbs.- Ounces		
1 Mark - A Boar's Tooth	----	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Marks- A Lead Weight & a Rope	----	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 Marks- A Round Freestone & a Rope	----	4	10
7 Marks- A Freestone, Rope & a piece of loose Lead	----	8	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
9 Marks- A Freestone & piece of loose Lead	----	11	6
16 Marks- A Freestone, Boar's Tooth & loose Lead	1	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Settin – A Freestone & a piece of Lead	1	12	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Settins- A Freestone & a piece of Lead or	3	6	8
2 Settins- A Whinstone & a Boar's Tooth or	3	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Settins- A Whinstone & a piece of Lead	3	6	--

Note: Each beam had its own weights which operated only with it. The Whinstone weight was not standardised and, therefore, the use of different stones on the one beam would produce widely differing values.

#### Land Measurement

1 Davoch -----	4 Ploughgates
1 Ploughgate -----	104 acres (Scots) or 130 (English)
1 Oxgang -----	13 acres (Scots)
1 Acre (Scots) -----	1.26 acres (English)
1 Dale (or Deal) -----	2 Rigs or $\frac{1}{2}$ acre
1 Rig -----	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre (Scots)
1 Scots Mile -----	1,976 yards

#### Land Measurement for Taxation Purposes (for rent or landmail & excluding Udal land)

1 Ploughgate -----	1 Merkland
40/- Land -----	3 Merklands

13/4 Land ----- 1 Merkland  
 6/8 Land ----- ½ Merkland  
 3/4Land ----- ¼ Merkland

Land Measurement for Skat  
 (excl. Bordland & Quoylands)

1 Urisland-----18 Pennylands  
 1 Pennyland-----1/18 Urisland  
 1 Skatland ----- 4 ½ Pennylands  
 1 Mark ----- 1/8 Pennyland

Types of Skat

1. Butter skat (after 1490 paid partially in other products) was divided into Stent (actual quantities of butter) or Skat Silver i.e. money value. 6 Spanns or 30 Lispunds (360 kgs.) payable per Urisland, or 1 Lispund of Stent & 5 Lispunds in money value at 4d per Lispund.
2. Malt Skat (arable land only) at 4 Settins of Malt (or 1 1/3 Settins Meal) per pennyland.
3. Forcop (payable in any form) at 30d per Urisland but sometimes omitted if Butter or Malt Skat was at a higher rate in the parish.
4. Wattle (originally for the entertainment of the Superior) at 18d per Urisland.
5. Merts (cattle slaughtered at Martinmas) at one mert per Urisland and valued at 40 merks or ¼ pound Scots.
6. Halk-hens at 1 hen per house (called reek hens).

Landmail was levied on Earldom lands only, in kind (malt, cost or meat), but was usually converted to 10 Settins per 10d of Markland.

Teind was levied at 2d per Markland.



### Fishing

Cod or Ling: sold at gross weight per lb.

Herring: sold per Crann of 3 ½ cwts or 37 ½ gallons of fresh barrelled fish.

Lobster: sold per item at minimum length of 9 inches

Saith: sold at 1d each but usually retained for domestic consumption.

Note: these are nineteenth-century money values, the old £Scots was valued at twelve to the £Sterling. There were 160 merks to the £Scots.

# APPENDIX Q Franchised Tenants

Tenant & Farm	1st Reform Act (1832)	2nd Reform Act (1867), before	2nd Reform Act (1867), after
David Balfour- Balfour Castle & Farm Heritor & Sole Proprietor (1)		(1)	
William Balfour-Cliffdale House	d.1845-Proprietor Sound Est. (1)	(1)	
James Bews- Newfield Farm	Midhowe-30acres at £2	(-)	96acres at £15-£20 (1)
James & William Bews- Garth Farm	Buhouse-30acres at £4	(-)	122acres at £28 (2)
William Bews- Parkhall Farm	annual rent of £1/15/-	(-)	60acres at £5/18/- (1)
Marcus Calder-Elwickbank Farm	Estate Factor-no rent 200acres at £55	(-)	200acres at £55 valuation (1)
Anthony Copland- Astley Cottage	No Rent	(-)	annual rent of £1/12/- (1)
Magnus Craigie- Hollandsgarth Farm	30acres at £9/1/10	(-)	46acres at £24 (1)
Hugh & William Craigie- Howe Farm	110acres at £25/10/-	(-)	110acres at £40 (2)
William Dennison- Ness Farm	100acres at £30	(1)	120acres at £60 (1)
John Drever- Inkerman Farm	30acres at £10	(-)	30acres at £15 (1)
John Drever- Lingro Farm	Annual rent of £3-£8	(-)	40acres at £14 (1)
John Hay- Quoys Farm	Annual rent of £4	(-)	Headgeo-38acres at £8 (1)
John Heddle- Ha'quoy Farm	45acres at £13	(-)	84acres at £24 (1)
James Hepburn- Linton Farm	36acres at £8	(-)	40acres at £14/1/- (1)
John Irvine- Sanger Farm	26.5acres at £3/15/-	(-)	30acres at £14 (1)
Robert Kemp- Kirkton Farm	85acres at £20	(-)	Drainage work in lieu of rent until 1878 (1)
David Laughton-Elwick Farm	Mill & 39.25acres at £50	(-)	40acres at £14 (1)
Andrew Marshall- Walthess Farm	220acres at £30	(-)	220acres at £30 (1)
James Meason- Furstigarth Farm	35acres at £4	(-)	35acres at £12 (1)
Magnus Michael- Nether Bigging Farm	35acres at £13	(-)	40acres at £18 (1)
Christopher Nicolson- Hannatof Farm	43acres at £13/13/-	(-)	112acres at £24/4/- (1)
Rev.Ronald Rannie- C.of S. Glebe	54acres at feu of 5/- per acre	(1)	5/- per acre per annum (1)
David Reid- Monquhanny Farm	Gorn-50acres at £28/7/-	(-)	Monquhanny-154acres at £60 (1)
		(-)	154acres at £90 (1)

John Reid- Steaquoy Farm	Annual rent of £4/4/-	(-)	(-)	60 acres at £13	(-)	60 acres at £17	(1)
William Robertson- Balaclava Farm	40 acres at £11	(-)	(-)	86 acres at £18	(-)	86 acres at £25	(1)
Simon Russell- Hewan Farm	116 acres at £15	(-)	(-)	116 acres at £25	(-)	120 acres at £28	(1)
John & William Scott- Quoymoorhouse Fm.	60 acres at £18	(-)	(-)	90 acres at £45	(-)	90 acres at £50	(1)
William Swanney- Sholtoquoy Farm	35 acres at £11	(-)	(-)	48 acres at £24	(-)	48 acres at £24	(1)
John Tulloch- Strathore Farm	210 acres at £30	(-)	(-)	210 acres at £48	(-)	210 acres at £88-£110	(1)
Henry Willetts- Caskald Farm	40 acres at £15	(-)	(-)	75 acres at £24	(-)	75 acres at £33	(1)
William Work- Brecks & Myers Farm	35 acres at £8	(-)	(-)	54 acres at £12	(-)	54 acres at £22/10/-	(1)
	Farmers of £10 plus Valuation not on the Voters' Roll						
James Allen- Quoybanks Farm	Annual Rent of £3/10/-			50.8 acres at £10		50.8 acres at £11	
William Hepburn- North Hill Farm	Annual Rent of £1/5/7			42 acres-no rent-poor drainage		42 acres at £12/10/-	
Michael Hutchison- Crossgates Farm	46 acres at Rent of £1/3/6			46 acres at £10/16/-		46 acres at £10/16/-	
David Laughton- Old School Farm	No rent until 1872-poor drainage-			65 acres-no rent		65 acres at £10	
William Michael- Braeholland	£15 per annum incl. Smithy			32 acres at £15		32 acres at £15	
Thomas Mouat- Skoenstoff Farm	43 acres at £10/10/-			43 acres at £10/10/-		43 acres at £11	
Edward Nicolson- Mounthoolie Farm	34 acres at £5			34 acres at £11		34 acres at £11	
John Nicolson- Quholm Farm	35 acres at £5			35 acres at £11		35 acres at £16	
David Rendall- Gebro Farm	30 acres at £8			30 acres at £8-poor drainage		35 acres at £10	
Robert Sinclair- Lucknow Farm	100 acres at £7/10/-			100 acres at £7/10/-		100 acres at £17	
Thomas Smith- Brecks Farm	40 acres at £6			40 acres at £9		40 acres at £12-£15	
Magnus Work- Whitecleat Farm	48 acres at £7/10/-			48 acres at £10		48 acres at £12/10/-	
	The 7 Electors prior to the Second Reform Act included the former proprietors Robert Dundas & Charles Laing.						

## APPENDIX R

### Remaining Small Holdings in the late Balfour period, 1871-1885

<u>Name &amp; Acreage</u>		<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Description</u>
Barebraes	10 acres	John Hourston	Croft
Bashan	no acreage	Thomas Flett	Labourer's cott.
Braehead	10 acres	Samuel Jones	Croft
Burness	no acreage	David Irvine	Fisherman's cott.
Burnside	no acreage	Betsy & Eleanor Tait	Retirement cott.
Busgar	10 acres	Alexander Leask	Croft
Chapel Brae	10 acres	Ann Thompson	Croft
Comely Bank	27 acres	John Hourston	
Court Hall	no acreage	James Drever	Artisan's cottage
Cott Brae	16 acres	John Shearer	Croft
Drill Hall	no acreage	John Mortimer	Drill instructor's
Easthouse	25 acres	William Irvine	
Feaston	20 acres	Magnus Shearer	
Flakimoss	25 acres	Henry Nicolson	
Furrowend	26 acres	Thomas & Izat Laughton	
Grassquoy	19 acres	John Sinclair	
Greenataing	28 acres	Robert Shearer	
Ha'breck	20 acres	James Hutchison	
Hamar	no acreage	James Gullion	Labourer's cott.

Haughland	10 acres	James Sketheway	Croft
Headgeo	25 acres	William Drever	
Hillside	25 acres	William Reid	
Houseby	25 acres	William Heddle	
Little Feaston	10 acres	William Work	Croft
Little Sandsgarth	15 acres	William Drummond	Croft
Lochend	8 ½ acres	William Harcus & William Learmonth	Croft
Luckston	5 acres	James Michael	Croft
Millburn	25 acres	John Shearer	
Millfield	no acreage	William Miller	Labourer's cott.
Mossbank	17 acres	John Nicolson	Croft
Newfield	7 acres	John Shearer	Croft
Newhouse	no acreage	Magnus Russell	Grocer's cottage
New Gorn	no acreage	William Work	Artisan's cott.
Newlot	10 acres	Samuel Hepburn	Croft
Nisthouse	25 acres	David Inkster	
Odin	no acreage	John Jones	Labourer's cott.
Ostoft	27 acres	David Skea	
Onzetauh	no acreage	Alexander Gunn	Retirement cott.
Pekin	15 acres	Thomas Shearer	Croft
Petra	10 acres	Elizabeth Sketheway	Croft
Pictou	10 acres	John Allan	Croft
Purtaquoy	20 acres	Magnus Michael	
Roadside	no acreage	Isabella Harcus	Retirement cott.



Roadside House	25 acres	Henry Willetts	
Rose Cottage	no acreage	Margaret Jeffrey	Grocer's cottage
Scarpigarth	24 acres	John Work	
Stenso	17 acres	James Kemp	Croft
Stye	no acreage	Peter Campbell	Labourer's Cott.
Tew	8 acres	James Work	Croft
Upper Bigging	10 acres	John Bews	Croft
Veantrow	22 acres	Thomas Irvine	
Waterhouse mire	25 acres	John Bews	

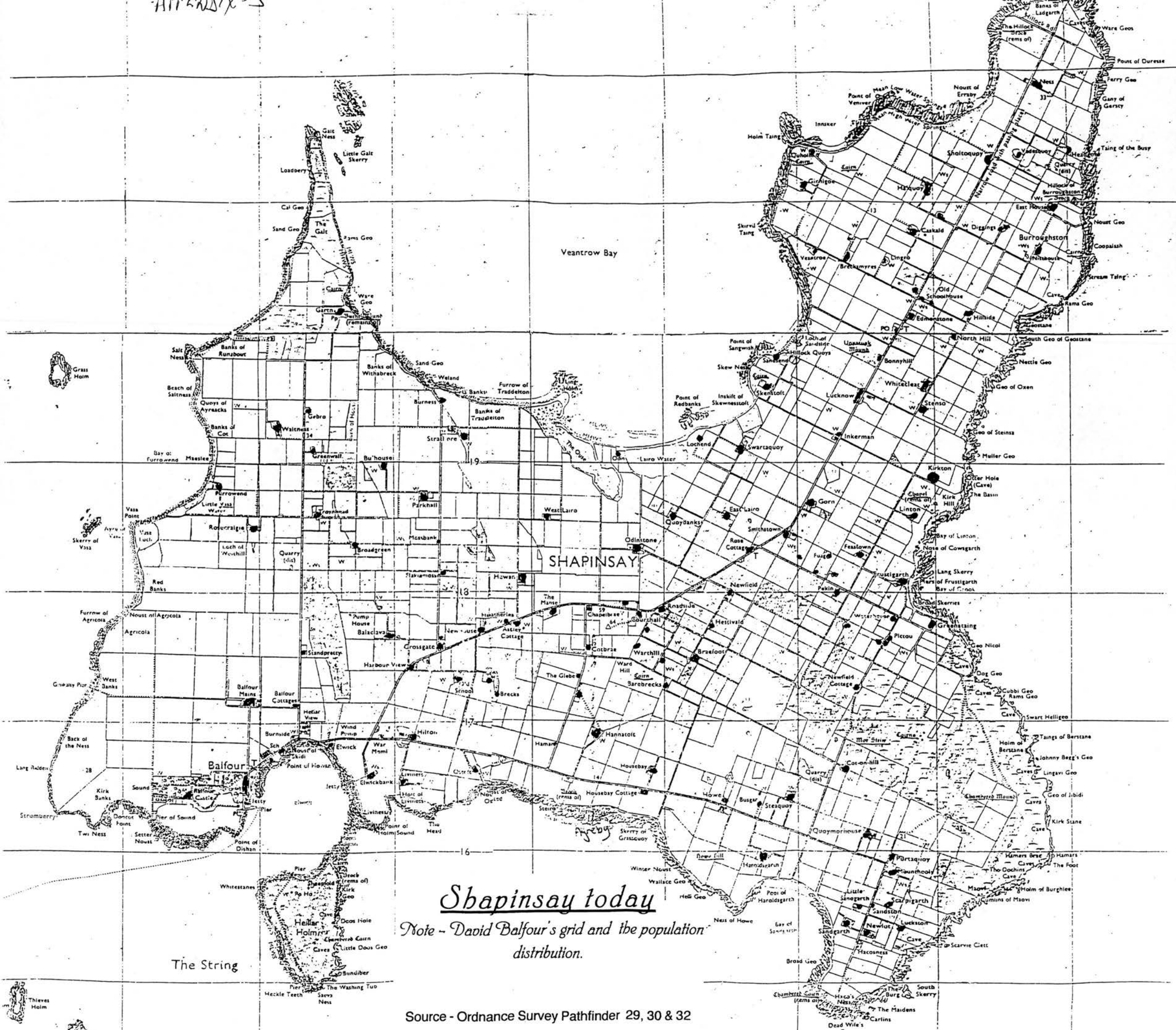
19 Small Farms (19-29 acres)

19 Crofts (18 acres or below)

14 Cottages (formerly small holdings)

52 in total

## **APPENDIX S Shapinsay after the 'Squaring'**



## **APPENDIX T Abbreviations Used for contemporary Research Institutions**

A.P.	Acts of Parliament
A.P.S.	Acts of the Scottish Parliament
N.A.S.	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
N.S.A.	New Statistical Account, 1845
O.A.	Orkney Archives, Kirkwall
O.S.A.	Old Statistical Account, 1792
O.S.C.R.	Orkney Sheriff Court Records, Kirkwall
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review
T.S.A.	Third Statistical Account, 1985.